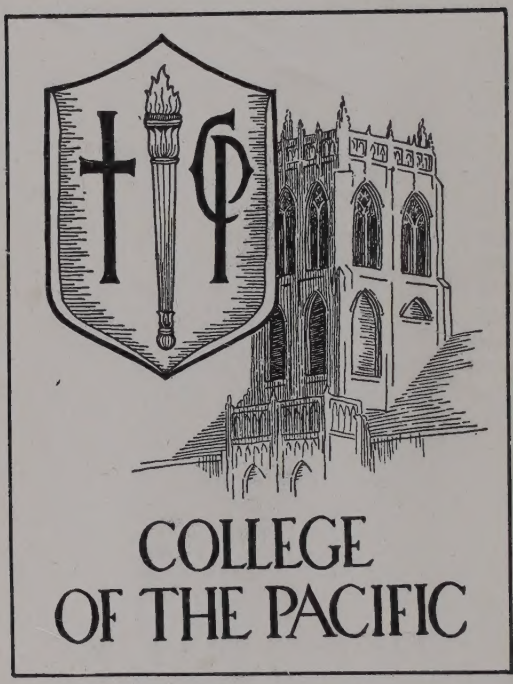


WITHDRAWN

To the

Rev. Geoy. William Douglas. D.D.

With the best wishes of his friend

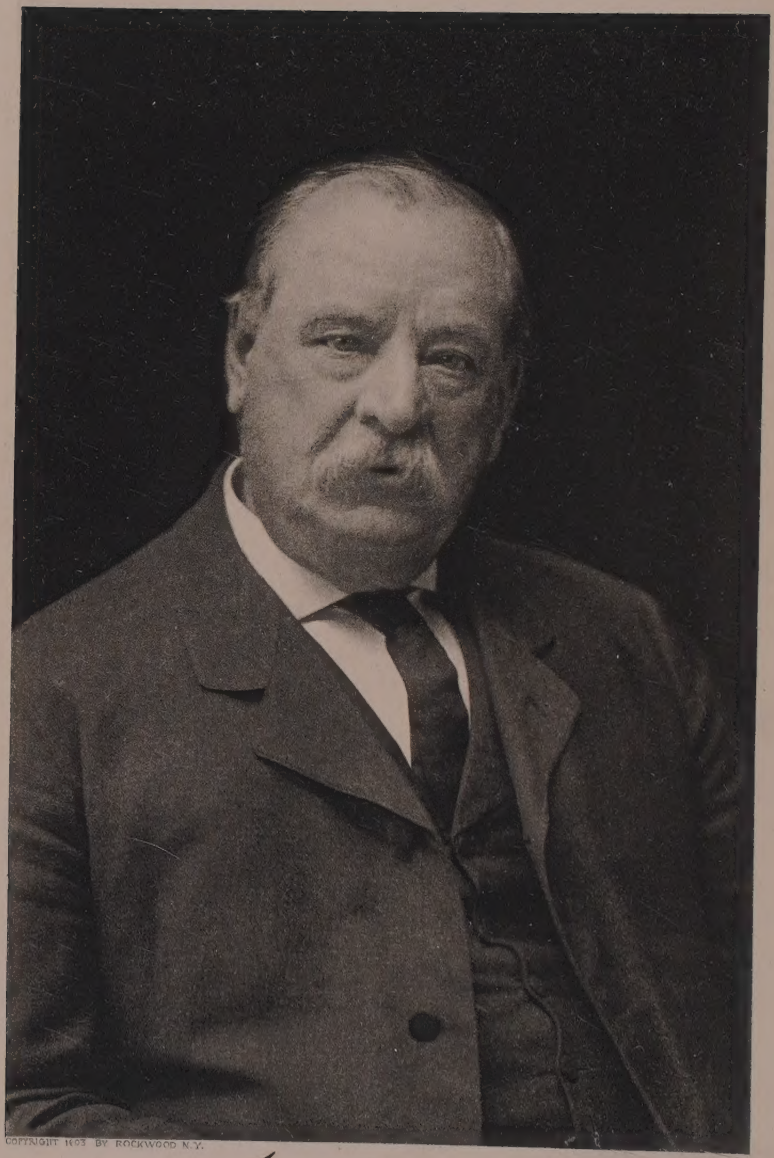
the Author,

Geoy. F. Parker.

New York City.

April 7. 1913.

RECOLLECTIONS
OF
GROVER CLEVELAND



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Grover Cleveland

College of the Pacific
Stockton, Calif.

RECOLLECTIONS

OF

GROVER CLEVELAND

BY

GEORGE F. PARKER, A.M., LL.D.

Yet remember all
He spoke among you, and the man who spoke;
Who never sold the truth to serve the hour,
Nor paltered with Eternal God for power;
Who let the turbid streams of rumour flow
Through either babbling world of high and low;
Whose life was work, whose language rife
With rugged maxims hewn from life.
Tennyson.

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History

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PREFACE

I HAVE explained the principles and policies that have guided me in writing this book. But no task like this can be executed without incurring agreeable obligations to many persons.

The Executors of the estate have generously given me permission to print letters written by Mr. Cleveland, and I have received many suggestions from his sister, Mrs. S. C. Yeomans.

I owe especial thanks to Colonel John P. Irish of California; ex-Attorney-General William U. Hensel of Pennsylvania; Colonel Hilary A. Herbert of Washington, D. C.; ex-Secretary George B. Cortelyou of New York; Hon. Alton B. Parker of New York; and Mr. Herbert P. Bissell of Buffalo. They have all sent me useful contributions to history.

I have limited myself, in general, to letters written by Mr. Cleveland to me, but, during the course of preparation, a few others, confirming personal impressions and reports of conversations, have come from Messrs. Everett P. Wheeler of New York, Kope Elias of North Carolina, Thomas Spratt of Plattsburg, and E. Prentiss Bailey, editor of the *Utica Observer,* to all of whom my

thanks are due. Mrs. William B. Hilles has permitted me to use four letters written by her father, the late Thomas F. Bayard, while our Ambassador in England.

Useful suggestions have been made by Dr. Joseph D. Bryant, ex-Secretary Charles S. Fairchild, Colonel John J. McCook, and Judge George Gray; Messrs. E. C. Benedict, Morgan J. O'Brien, Francis Lynde Stetson, Frederic C. Penfield, Thomas F. Meehan, and Mrs. Wilson S. Bissell and Mrs. John E. Russell.

Colonel Samuel R. Honey, lately of Rhode Island, now living in England; ex-Attorney-General L. T. Michener of Washington; Colonel Robert Grier Monroe of New York; and Messrs. William F. Harrity, formerly Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, John J. Lentz of Columbus, Ohio, William Duff Haynie of Chicago, Josiah Quincy, Nathan Matthews, and Robert Lincoln O'Brien of Boston, have furnished information or verified references and have thus made me their debtor.

Nor can I overlook the encouragement which has come from many strangers who, during the progress of partial serial publication, have written me from every part of the country. My only regret is that, owing to the personal character of the book, it has not always been possible to use the information which they have furnished or to adopt their suggestions.

Although one side of a colloquy cannot be given in exact language, the substance of conversations has been reported with scrupulous fidelity. Whatever faults or merits any of these may have, no one else can be held

even to the smallest responsibility either for them, or for the opinions expressed, or the conclusions reached.

The hope is indulged that the Chronology may afford the reader a bird's-eye view of a life; that the brief Bibliography may induce readers to go further; that the unusually full Table of Contents may be a useful guide; and that the Index may be found a real aid.

GEORGE F. PARKER.

Winnisook Club,
Slide Mountain, New York,
September 8, 1909.

NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION

I have made no change in the text for this edition.

Governor Harmon of Ohio, Attorney-General in the second Cleveland administration, has written me under date of February 17th as follows:

"I must take issue with one statement in your 'Recollections.' I think it is on page 199. I remember distinctly that Mr. Cleveland read his Venezuela message to the Cabinet — all the members being present. Mr. Wilson and I sat opposite to each other and we exchanged glances frequently as the reading proceeded. We all remarked to each other, after the meeting closed, that, for the first time in our experience, Mr. Cleveland did not, after reading the message, ask for comments or suggestions. Mr. Olney had brought his despatch to Lord Salisbury to Washington and submitted it to us in the preceding August: so we knew what was brewing. I cannot be mistaken about Mr. Cleveland reading his message to us: it was the most striking single event of my two years in Washington."

My authority for this incident, as narrated, was the late Secretary Carlisle, who was the listener — the late Secretary Morton being the intruder. Governor Harmon agrees with me in the conclusion that Secretary Carlisle, dealing with an episode earlier in the day, before the meeting of the Cabinet, had evidently forgotten the later experience now recounted in such an interesting way.

Even in a matter so unimportant, relatively, I am moved by a desire to tell the whole truth as well as the truth and nothing but the truth.

G. F. P.

July 1, 1911.

RECOLLECTIONS OF GROVER CLEVELAND

RECOLLECTIONS OF GROVER CLEVELAND

INTRODUCTION

I

After it became evident, in 1891, that nothing could prevent the nomination of Mr. Cleveland, I began to collect his writings and speeches. As it was to be a campaign for a personality, as much biographical material as possible ought to be available. Nearly everything dealing in a literary way with him, or his quick rise into national prominence, had been tentative, hurried, incomplete, and had failed fairly to represent either his attainments or his ability. Little material had been gathered which revealed the man as he really was, or showed what he had done, or how he had gone about it.

In making my compilation, Mr. Cleveland gave every assistance in his power. He detected errors, suggested correct readings, and read proofs with his usual care—thus fairly completing his public utterances up to that time. The volume contained no biography and no opinions or judgments of the compiler, other than a critical introduction or appreciation.

In August, 1892, after the Presidential campaign was well under way, it was represented to Mr. Cleveland that a comprehensive biography was needed. Although no part of my plans, I undertook it. Fortunately for the emergency, I had the material ready at hand—collected, in the main, from the lips of the subject himself. It included elaborate notes of conversations and incidents, memoranda, letters, and documents. The book was written in the overtime of eleven days, and issued in newspaper and book form some six weeks before the election. Its defects were obvious: but it did condense the available facts into small compass. It drew materials and inspiration from its subject, had been prepared at his request, and was published with his cooperation and oversight.

II

I THOUGHT then, and for nearly sixteen years afterward, that I had told my story, and prolonged absence seemed to confirm this opinion. But my plans were changed and, without seeking, I was again thrown into close association with Mr. Cleveland. It was a new case of propinquity.

From the beginning, the note-taking habit—part of the equipment of the old-fashioned editor—has stood me in good stead when the need came; for, in dealing with Mr. Cleveland, as with other men or events, it had led me to record facts or traits, estimates of men, happenings, and opinions—many of them unconventional, but illuminating. He would certainly be a stupid man who, in the conferences incident to the discussion of the details of more than half a hundred addresses, saying nothing

of an incalculable number of other interviews, did not obtain some insight into the mind of his neighbor.

It is inevitable that these recollections should deal mainly, though not wholly, with public questions and public men. His life, attention, and interests were closely linked with politics in the myriad forms it takes in this country. But, as a progressive man, he kept in touch with current thought, especially with new figures in it, and discussed in private a range of questions not touched upon in public. These would find a place in both note and memory, and in this way I gathered many interesting expressions of a man whose mind grew, day by day, to the end.

To a writer who is free from the thought or necessity for making copy, opinions, thus expressed and many times repeated, noted again and again in all their variations, became almost personified. There may not be agreement with them: but such association affords many opportunities. When one knows and believes in the man, his philosophy becomes absorbing.

III

In 1893—after my long absence from the country was assured—I pressed upon three personal friends, already chosen for the Cabinet, the importance, for the truth of history, of having inside views of the administration, from beginning to end. The suggestion was well received, and I supposed, until many years later, that Daniel S. Lamont, Wilson S. Bissell, and Hoke Smith had collected and collated such a record. But the exactions of public life would have made it difficult even for practised writers, accustomed by training and habit to

take notes of documents, discussions, conferences, instructions, or conversations. The effect is that, in this case, as in so many others, the real material of history has been lost.

In 1906 a little group of friends had worked out a plan which made provision for gathering, from Mr. Cleveland's still living associates and friends, estimates, in the form of opinions, and facts about his two terms as President. The materials were to be locked up for use until the time should come for telling the story of his life and service. Mr. Cleveland set no store by such things so long as they concerned him. More by accident than design, after his retirement, he wrote the illuminating story of some of the chief events of his two administrations as President for use as lectures or newspaper articles. When, therefore, he discouraged the proposed method, the plans were, in the necessity of things, dropped.

Nearly eighteen months later I was surprised to receive the following letter:

Princeton, October 7, 1907.

My dear Mr. Parker:

I have lately had a letter from Henry L. Nelson, whom you know well—now a professor in Williams College—informing me that he has a commission from the *North American Review* to write something about me and asking if I can furnish any material in his aid outside of the State Papers and "Presidential Problems" which he already has.

You know how thoroughly incompetent I am in this matter and how little I know about myself: but I confess to a desire that, at some time, there should be written, by some one, some things that will present the personal traits and disposition that have given direction to my public, as well as my personal, conduct.

I have written to Professor Nelson telling him of the book

of speeches and letters you compiled in 1892 and saying that of all men you would be the best to consult. If he applies to you I shall greatly appreciate any effort you may make in aid of the presentability of what he intends to write.

Sincerely yours,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

George F. Parker,
120 Broadway, New York.

IV

NOT long after, I went to Princeton and spent some hours with Mr. Cleveland discussing many questions—among them, that of bringing his writings and speeches up to date. For the first time in our association—or with any one else, so far as I know—he willingly consented that I should again take up this work, not with a view to immediate publication, but for the purpose of having them ready for future use. When it was discovered that some instalments were unattainable at the office of the newspapers in which they had been printed, he supplied the missing numbers and showed some of the interest in this question that had been felt all along by his friends.

Lack of time, and stress of employments remote from writing, had driven from my mind any idea of contributing further to the elucidation of Mr. Cleveland's career. After finishing the sketch of 1892, I had written no more about him. But after his death the memories of twenty years came thronging back as if revealed in a vision. It seemed to me that I could tell a story which might be valuable to my countrymen as an estimate of a man known, in his nobleness and greatness, only to a few people.

Upon my return to town I took counsel with friends of my own and Mr. Cleveland, who insisted that it was a duty to pay this homage to his memory. I then began a search for the materials. In dozens of drawers, pigeonholes, boxes, and letter files, were documents, letters, notes of conversations, or minutes of organizations of which I had been secretary. More than a thousand carefully preserved letters, written by leading men in forty States, either to me or to Mr. Cleveland—during the prenomination canvass of 1889–1892—were taken from their dusty hiding-places.

With these aids the past lived anew. I found myself again in the atmosphere of campaign text-books; or in national conventions or committees, surrounded either by able statesmen or by pushing, eager politicians; or behind the scenes with the master mind of all. Thenceforth, business, rest, or interest in the things about me had to wait. I wrote on and on until the prescribed limits of two or three magazine articles had grown into the book here presented.

V

If these random recollections wandering at will from topic to topic—and thus remote from formal biography—have any value, it is due to the fact that they are personal and intimate. While not based upon the report of others, but resting upon knowledge, I have not relied upon memory for a fact, opinion, inference, or report of conversations, unless it was verified by note, memorandum, document, letter, or minute, or was checked by others. Before printing a line or being approached by an editor or publisher, the manuscript was submitted to those best qualified to know and judge, and in the course

of partial serial publication, suggestion from any qualified critic has been welcomed.

It has been written with high reverence and a strong sense of responsibility. I have tried, as honestly as any man could, to carry out the wish expressed in the quoted Princeton letter: "that, at some time, there should be written, by some one, some things that will present the personal traits and disposition that have given direction to my public, as well as my personal, conduct."

VI

Few literary deficiencies of our time and country are more apparent than the absence of satisfactory studies of our commanding public men. Our people get little from books to aid them in learning or preserving the truth about their leaders, or in promoting that dignity of history without which a nation soon loses its sense of perspective.

Under existing conditions the difficulties are almost insuperable. The brevity of tenure in public life; partizan activity on lines which repress originality, if not thought itself; the attention given to whimsical and evanescent speech and writing; the flippancy of public comment and criticism; the practical disappearance of the letter as a form of literature, and along with it, of diaries and note-books; the frequent indifference of our public men to the claims of history; the ruinous tidal waves of sentimentalism which, now and again, sweep over our national life; and the truculent assertion of a false and belittling equality—all tend to reduce political biography to its lowest terms.

This absence of *mémoires pour servir* makes it ex-

tremely difficult for even the best-equipped historian or biographer to write, with fairness and with a decent regard for literary finish, of our public men. They are seldom surrounded officially by those endowed both with observation and literary gifts: perhaps worst of all, few contributions are made by women—whose letters, gossip, estimates, and opinions, have, in other times and countries and even in our own earlier days, enlivened and illustrated history, and, in a special way, biography: the record of human nature.

VII

Our public men are themselves too busy to leave other than an official record; to do more than see swarms of reporters—each on the lookout for his little catchword—in order to discuss some temporary, snapshot phase of patronage or dispute; to defend themselves from idle or vicious criticism; or to forecast some cut-and-dried policy. While in office, with its worries and its wearing, never-ending responsibilities, they have no time or strength, even if so inclined, to lay, firmly and sensibly, the foundations for a sane presentation of their cases in the court of history; to save themselves from a return into obscurity; or to resent or correct hideous injustice. Out of office, the tide sweeps over them and, at its ebb, generally leaves them high and dry, bereft alike of power and of interest for a mercurial public.

In some instances, when the delayed memoir or autobiography finally reaches the world—often in the form of a subscription book with its few thousands of uncritical gudgeons—our once conspicuous public man has passed into the condition of neglect which encourages

and emphasizes, in each new generation, the conclusion that the past is nothing and that the present, with its noisy buzzing insects of the hour, is all that the world holds. In this somewhat disjointed study, I have sought, within the limits of ability and opportunity, to reveal the character of the man, as I saw it, and also to demonstrate that, when afforded the necessary scope, the qualities distinctive of our old-time Americanism remain as potent and encouraging as ever.

VIII

Other than the man under consideration, we cannot expect to find, anywhere in modern life, a finer product of democracy at its best estate. Earnest, honest, a lover of mercy, charitable in disposition and manner, as free as men may be from resentments, the country has not yet realized the blessing vouchsafed it in finding for high place a man with will, capacity, and courage—one who could and would tell the truth, without concealment or abatement.

The whole of Mr. Cleveland's public life was a sacrifice for the public good. Whether in or out of it, he stood for the dignity of his great office, not because it was his own, but for the better reason that he represented his country before the world. He did not have to study for the part: it was a dignity inherent in the gentleman.

He had the quality now somewhat unfashionable: reticence. He never deemed it necessary to exhibit every emotion: to cry every thought or notion from the housetops. He would no more surrender to the pass-

ing whim of intimates, or listen to their protests, than he would when dealing with public clamor.

Welcoming the new when also true, he preserved old ideals and realities. He made the reform of abuses in public life a business: not a profession. He loved humanity in all its various forms: and sympathized with its joys and sorrows; he hated hypocrites, shams, Pharisees, pretenders, and liars: he despised none but incompetents and toadies. The outstanding points in his character were: sturdy manliness, unyielding, inherent honesty of life and opinion, and the virility found only in real men. While the need for these qualities remains, his memory ought to furnish both example and inspiration.

IX

I HAVE not painted a portrait: I have only made studies. But, if anything that I have written shall conduce to a better understanding of the man, or of public life in general, or give my countrymen some conception of the steadiness and nobility of a Great Public Character, as it presented itself to me during the changes of twenty years, I shall be amply rewarded.

CHAPTER I

ANCESTRY—EARLY LIFE

I

When I assisted Mr. Cleveland in the work of house-cleaning, after his first return from the White House, we found many publications dealing with his family history. I could but note his indifference to these—most of them being consigned to the waste-basket. He told me then, as on many subsequent occasions, that, in accordance with old-fashioned American ideas, and following his own inclinations, he had only taken a slight interest in the details revealed by many industrious investigators. Since he had come into the higher politics many persons had so exaggerated the genealogical point of view that he had been inundated with questions about his family—most of which he could not answer.

In all these publications he had found little that was new or of special value. He insisted that the traditions, which somehow drift down in American households until they take their place in the history of families, had already shown him that each generation of his ancestors had been made up of God-fearing, industrious men and good women, who—like most of our American progenitors long settled here—had done their duty as best they

could, and that he neither knew nor cared to know more than this.

It was one conclusion from a long observation of life, he often insisted, that, whatever pretension or assertiveness may suggest, there can be no better human origin than such people as these. He often expressed the opinion that a really good family is one in which the members have tried so honestly and earnestly, in successive generations, to do useful things that their success has been assured, and he was satisfied that, so long as this result is achieved, there is small cause either for pride or vanity of birth or for undue humility, and no serious danger of that degeneracy of which so much is heard from time to time.

This characteristic opinion was certainly enough to discourage a biographer from an effort to deal, at any length, with the questions of his family and origin, and makes possible only a brief reference to them. As he seldom talked of them, and as, naturally, this book deals, almost wholly, with recollections, conversations, impressions, and opinions derived from personal association —information received from him at first hand—it affords little opportunity for researches of this order.

II

THE first of the name on the American continent seems to have been Moses Cleaveland—the *a* was dropped within two or three generations by the immediate family of the man who was to make it known and famous. He emigrated from Ipswich in England to Massachusetts in 1635. As in a Puritan society it generally required only about two generations, from the beginning, to start

the development of the ministerial habit, so it was in the Cleveland family. Since that time no generation has passed without one or more of the name in the ministry of some of the Protestant churches—generally Congregational or Presbyterian.

Perhaps the best known of these early clergymen was one in the fourth American generation, the Rev. Aaron Cleveland—the great-great-grandfather of Grover Cleveland—who died in 1757 in Philadelphia at the house of Benjamin Franklin. In recording the fact in his newspaper, the philosopher pronounced his dead friend "a gentleman of humane and pious disposition, indefatigable in his ministry, easy and affable in his conversation, open and sincere in his friendship, and above every species of meanness and dissimulation." These simple characteristics have been exemplified in succeeding generations both by clergymen and laymen of the same name and family.

An interesting poem analyzing the qualities entering into his own generation was by the last of the four Aaron Clevelands—one of the most versatile of the family representatives—and great-grandfather of the late President, who passed most of his life at Norwich, Connecticut. It has not been widely reprinted and, although somewhat foreign to my purpose—as the writer of recollections and not of a biography—it will, perhaps, bear repetition because it treats genealogical research with the contempt and aversion which were so strong as traits in his distinguished descendant.[1]

[1] "Four kinds of blood flow in my veins
And govern each in turn my brains;
From Cleveland, Porter, Sewell, Waters
I had my blood distinct in quarters.
My parents' parents' names I know,
But I no further back can go;
Compound on compound from the flood
Forms now my own ancestral blood.

In 1793, William Cleveland, a watchmaker—of the old-fashioned, hard-working, careful order, living in the days when the mechanic and the artisan were still recognized as figures in the best society—who had started in business in Westfield, Massachusetts, was married to Margaret Falley of Norwich, Connecticut, where they settled down to work and live. On June 19, 1805, there was born to them a son, Richard Falley Cleveland. In accordance with the custom of the time and the habit of the family already alluded to, it was decreed that this young man should become a minister. For this purpose he was trained in the schools of Nor-

But what my sires of old time were
I neither wish to know nor care.
Some might be wise, and others fools;
Some might be tyrants, others tools;
Some might be rich, and others lack;
Some might be white, and others black—
No matter what in days of yore,
Since they are known and sung no more.
The name of Cleveland I must wear,
Which some poor foundling first might bear.
Porter, I 'm told, from Scotland came,
A bonny bard of ancient fame.
Sewell, an English derivation,
Perhaps some outcast from the nation.
Waters, an Irishman, I ween,
Straight round about from Aberdeen.
Such is my heterogeneous blood—
A motley mixture, bad and good,
Each blood aspires to rule alone,
And each in turn ascends the throne
And rules till others tear him down.
Each change must twist about my brains
And move my tongue in different strains;
My mental powers are captive led
As whim or wisdom rules the head.
My character no one can know,
For none I have while things are so;
I 'm something, nothing, wise or fool,
As suits the blood which haps to rule.
When Cleveland reigns I 'm thought a wit
In making words, the funny hit,
In social glee and humorous song
I charm the fools that round me throng;
But soon, perhaps, this blood is down,
When Porter next may wear the crown.
Now all is calm, discreet, and wise,
Whate'er I do, whate'er advise.

wich, where he fitted for Yale College, from which he was graduated in 1824.

Looking about for a place to begin his life-work, he was led to Baltimore, Maryland, where, for a year, he filled the position of tutor in a private school. Here he met and engaged himself to Anne Neal—born in February, 1804—but, as he had not concluded his theological studies, he left her behind to enter upon the study of his chosen profession in the seminary at Princeton. In 1829, when he was twenty-four years old, he returned to Baltimore, and he and Miss Neal were married. They settled for a time at Windham, Connecticut, in which

But soon, alas! this happy reign
Must for some other change again.
Sewell perhaps may next bear rule;
I 'm then a philosophic fool.
With Jefferson I correspond
And soar with him the stars beyond,
While every fibre of the brain
To sense profound I nicely strain,
And then arise beyond the ken
Of common sense and common men.
But who comes next? Alas! 't is Waters,
Rushing fearless to headquarters.
He knows no manners nor decorum,
But elbows headlong to the forum;
Uncouth and odd, abrupt and bold,
Untaught, unteachable, and uncontrolled,
Devoid of wisdom, sense, or wit,
Not one thing right he ever hit,
Unless by accident, not skill,
He blundered right against his will;
Such am I now,—no transmigration
Can sink me to a lower station.
Come, Porter, come depose this clown,
And once for all assume the crown;
If aught in Sewell's blood you find
Will make your own still more refined,
If found in Cleveland's blood a trait
To aid you in the affairs of state,
Select such parts, but spurn the rest,
Never to rule my brain or breast.
Of Waters' blood expel the whole,
Let not one drop pollute my soul.
Then rule my head, then rule my heart,
From folly, weakness, wit apart;
With all such qualities I 'll dispense,
And only give me common sense."

place the young man had been offered the pastorate of the Congregational church. Mr. Cleveland always recalled with interest that his father had begun his professional life with the enthusiasm and energy which distinguished him to the end and that his earnest, eloquent sermons were long remembered in the neighborhood in which he began his life-work. His health becoming somewhat shattered, he soon accepted a call from the Presbyterian church at Portsmouth, Virginia. He remained there only long enough to restore his health, after which he returned North and, upon the recommendation of his former instructors at Princeton, he was called to the pastorate of the Presbyterian church at Caldwell, New Jersey, then, as now, an important village near Newark.

He began work in this new field just before Christmas, 1834. In the parsonage attached to this modest church, Grover Cleveland was born on March 18, 1837. He was named for the predecessor of his father who, for many years, had been the pastor of the same congregation, the Rev. Stephen Grover. The first name, however, was seldom used even in childhood, and he himself dropped it before he had arrived at manhood.

In 1841 Richard Falley Cleveland accepted the pastorate of the Presbyterian church at Fayetteville, New York, a small village situated in what was then a pioneer region in Onondaga County. The settlement of central New York had only fairly begun, so that Syracuse, which has long been an important city, was then little more than a village. The task of reaching the new pastorate was a difficult one, so that it was only after many days of weary travel by river, canal, and wagon that the Cleveland family, then numbering, in

addition to the father and mother, three daughters and three sons, reached its destination.

The father settled down to his new and congenial work. Like all ministers in those days, the salary was small and the allowances meagre, but the energy of the husband and the watchful prudence and loving foresight of the wife and mother enabled them, in those days of the really simple life, to bring up a family, not in luxury, but with all the comforts of life. With only $600 a year, upon which few men of this type would now undertake the responsibility, there was never anything like poverty in the Cleveland home. The necessity existed for close management, for care and prudent economy on the part of all, and each member did his part in the task of making life happy for himself and for others.

The family remained at Fayetteville about ten years, when, in 1851, the father accepted the presidency of the American Home Missionary Society at a salary of $1000 a year. This involved the removal, with his wife and children—the latter now increased to nine—to Clinton in Oneida County. The ruling motive for this change was a desire to utilize the educational facilities afforded by Hamilton College, then in its youth—now become an important centre of education. Here the eldest son, the late Rev. William N. Cleveland, finished his education, and the younger boys were enabled to take advantage of the Clinton Academy and schools in preparation for a college course.

Before leaving Fayetteville, Grover, then fourteen years old, had taken a place in a grocery-store, where he was able to earn $50 a year, with the prospect of doubling this sum in the second year. At the end of the first period, the boy followed the family to Clinton to begin

his work in the academy. Mr. Cleveland always spoke with enthusiasm of his youthful experience. The duties did not greatly differ from those performed by the ordinary boy, nor did he claim that he was even more or less efficient or active than the average young merchant at this tender age, but he always did say that it enabled him to begin early in life the study of human nature and to get that insight into the motives of men which had been so useful to him throughout his public career. As the result of this and other humble experiences in early life it is perhaps safe to assert that he acquired the faculty of knowing the people and of being able to reach them as effectively as any other public man of his century, with the possible exception of Abraham Lincoln.

Upon joining his family he attended the academy, where he made satisfactory progress and looked forward, in due time, to entering Hamilton College. These plans, however, were never carried out, for, in September, 1853, the family removed to Holland Patent—a village about fifteen miles from Utica—the father having been called to the Presbyterian church there. Here he died on the first of the succeeding month, leaving his wife and children to struggle with the world. The mother remained in the new home and kept with her those members of her family who had not already gone out into the world to make their way. She lived in the same place until her death in July, 1882, only a few weeks before her son, then Mayor of Buffalo, was nominated for Governor.

Mr. Cleveland was fond of talking about his father and his courageous and successful struggle as a country minister. In the course of a long talk with him, in November, 1907, after he had been confined to his room

for some months, somehow the conversation drifted to his early experiences—as indeed had been the case on many previous occasions. It was perhaps suggested by an article he had been reading in which the fact was developed that Edward H. Harriman and other men of contemporary prominence were sons of clergymen. It was one of his habits to take an interest in the careers of such men, and so he kept himself pretty well posted about them and their doings.

"Looking back over my life," he often repeated, "nothing seems to me to have in it more both of pathos and interest than the spectacle of my father, a hard-working country clergyman, bringing up acceptably a family of nine children, educating each member so that, in after life, none suffered any deprivation in this respect, and that, too, upon a salary which at no time exceeded a thousand dollars a year. It would be impossible to exaggerate the strength of character thus revealed. It emphasizes," he continued, "the qualities of pluck and endurance which have made our people what they are," and he often said that nothing in our later development, great and commanding though it has been, was to be compared with the wonder-working process of making men and women—a fact so significant of our ideas and origin. He recalled with pride the cheerfulness and resignation of the father and mother as well as the devotion of the members of so large a family to one another, which led him to realize what a boon it was to have been a pioneer in our American life; to have its effective discipline and to share in the honors which these people had won for themselves.

III

THE eldest son, William, had obtained employment as the principal male teacher in the Institution for the Blind at Ninth Avenue and Thirty-fourth Street, New York City, which at that time had about two hundred pupils. Returning from the funeral of his father, he arranged with the institution, of which the late Augustus Schell—later a friend and supporter of Grover Cleveland—was the president and leading trustee, to give the younger brother a place, so that within a few weeks the latter became bookkeeper and assistant to the superintendent.

Mr. Cleveland often spoke of this first absence from home and of his earliest real work after going out into the world. In 1892, when I was collecting information for a sketch of his life, he referred me to Miss Fanny Crosby, a pupil and teacher in that institution from 1835 to 1858. In order to get her impressions of the young man as he appeared to her at that time, I had a long interview with her in which I had taken down stenographically her recollections of her former associate and teacher.

Miss Crosby—who is still living in Bridgeport, Connecticut, at an advanced age—is one of those independent persons who do not permit misfortune to keep them from hard work or from satisfying their ambitions. Blind from infancy, she has been for more than half a century one of the most popular hymn-writers in the country. During her early life she devoted herself to literary work, and, at the same time, to the promotion of the interests of the Institution for the Blind, then comparatively new and unknown and little appreciated by the families of those who had afflicted members.

From the elaborate notes taken during my visit to Miss Crosby I was able to compile, in her own words, the following account of her early boyish friend who was afterward to attain such high distinction:

When Grover Cleveland came to the institution in 1853, he was in his seventeenth year. His mind was unusually well developed for his years; so well, in fact, that he might be called a marvel of precocity. He was nearly full grown as to height, but slender, though he had reached mental maturity many years earlier than the average man. He had an intellectual appearance; indeed, it was surprising that one so young was able to hold a position of such importance and to make his mark in it. He seemed to have about him even then the manner of a mature man. It was my fortune to make his acquaintance soon after he came to the institution, and I felt, therefore, free to tell him, as I did many times, that he had a mind much in advance of his years, and I also used, with almost motherly caution, to say to him: "Take care that you do not study too much and injure yourself."

Every moment of his spare time was given to the hardest kind of study. He was a persistent reader, devoting most of his attention to history, and developing even in those days something of a bent for the law, which he was finally to make his calling. But he did not confine his reading entirely to such solid matter. Many times he favored myself, and other teachers and pupils in the institution, by reading to us from the poets. Among other authors who were favorites of his was Thomas Moore, from whom he read a good many selections, as well as from Byron. I remember that at one time he read Byron's "Corsair" to me. Even then he had developed the faculty of hard work, which has so distinguished his later career, so that it is no new thing for him to burn the midnight oil. He did so even as a young man when I first knew him thirty-nine years ago.

No man could have a kinder heart than had Grover Cleveland in those days—days that, to most boys of his age, might be termed formative. He came to us almost immediately after the death of his father, and as a result he had an air of pensive

sadness about him. He showed that he felt very keenly the loss of his father. This did not take the form of melancholia, but he used often to talk to me about his father in an intimate, familiar way that was touching and very natural. As a child, he had been brought up in a Christian household, under the ministrations of a father noted for his deep piety and of a mother distinguished for tenderness and care for her family.

When he first went there I used often to talk to him when his office duties were over, and in due course of time we became good friends. Perhaps I knew him quite as well as any of the teachers or officers of the institution. He came into contact with mature men and women, many of whom have since become well known in various fields of work, and was able to meet them upon their own plane. He showed himself to be keen and thoughtful. At the same time he was extremely modest; something I have noted with interest since his great public career has brought him before the people of his country.

Indeed, the first time I met him after those early associations was in Lakewood, New Jersey, during the past winter. At that time I noticed the same modest demeanor. He was interested in telling me of an experience of his while President. A convention or meeting of blind people was held at Baltimore during that time, and he went there on purpose to see them. In recounting to me this incident he never referred to the matter as having occurred while he was President, but he used a form, which I am told he has almost uniformly adopted, of saying, "When I was in Washington"; in fact, I do not believe that during our interview he used the word President, or in any way said anything to indicate that he had held such an exalted office. This was thoroughly characteristic of him, as he was always anxious to avoid anything like praise or commendation of himself.

He did not strike me during the period I knew him as a young man who would have a great number of friends, although he had a capacity for friendship. I thought that he was somewhat chary of giving his confidence to many people. This did not come from any feeling of vanity, but from his natural reserve. But when he came to know a person and gave his confidence, he did so fully and unreservedly. He was always kindly and sympathetic, and during his residence there the

tendency was strongly developed at every turn. He resented occasional cruelties practised by a superintendent, who lacked the qualities necessary for a successful administration of such an important place. I remember at one time that when a boy was punished with undue severity, young Cleveland spoke to me about it with much feeling. He could not, of course, in his position, take steps to resent it by a physical demonstration, but he showed in every word and action that he would like to punish its perpetrator in the most effective way.

I remember another incident that had a bearing personal to myself. The same superintendent had about him a dictatorial way when he found himself in authority over anybody. It so happened one day that I went down-stairs into the office, where Mr. Cleveland worked, and asked him to copy a poem. He did so, and when he had nearly finished the work, the superintendent came in and said, in a very insolent way: "Miss Crosby, when you want Mr. Cleveland to copy a piece for you, I will thank you to come and ask me." Of course I felt very much hurt, and when the superintendent went out, Mr. Cleveland said to me: "Now, Fanny Crosby, how long do you intend to allow that man to harrow up your feelings like this?" I asked him: "What can I do to stop it?" and he said, "By giving as good as he sent."

I was nonplussed, and in reply I said, "Mr. Cleveland, I never was saucy in my life." To this he replied: "But it is not impudent to take your own part, and you never will be taught independence and self-reliance any younger. Now, we will try an experiment. Come down to-morrow, and ask me to copy another poem for you. I will do so, and then you come in as usual, and you will see the consequences, but in any event make up your mind never to let any one impose upon you." According to this agreement I went down and asked Mr. Cleveland to copy a poem for me. As was anticipated, the superintendent came in and made the same remark. Then I turned round and said to him: "I want you to understand that I am second to no one in this institution except yourself, and I have borne with your insolence so long that I will do so no longer; if it is repeated, I will report you to the managers." The superintendent looked at me with the greatest astonishment, but my reply had just the effect that Mr. Cleveland said it would have. I never

had any further trouble with the obnoxious superintendent, nor did he assume such a manner towards me or Mr. Cleveland any more.

After young Cleveland left the institution I myself remained until 1858. I never heard from him or about him until he was nominated for Governor in 1882, while Mayor of Buffalo. But he took occasion the first time he heard from me to show his kindly feeling. While he was Governor one of my friends gave me a sort of benefit, and sent an invitation to the Governor. He immediately wrote back expressing regret at his inability to attend, but saying, "I remember my old friend Fanny Crosby very well," and in further token of his remembrance he sent to the friend managing the affair a neat little sum of money.

I have always regretted that I did not keep myself in touch with him after he became Governor or President; but in both cases I felt that, as I had neglected him for so many years, it would not seem just the right thing to open a correspondence with him then, because it might look as though I wanted to court favor. So I never met him again until at Lakewood last winter.

I cannot say that I have been surprised at his rise to prominence and greatness. I always felt that he was a man far above the average, both intellectually and morally. He seemed to me to have great possibilities, so that one who came in contact with him in an intimate way, as I had an opportunity to do by reason of official association with him, would have predicted for him a successful career.

I do not think that he looked upon his teaching work as other than preparatory for the more serious struggles of life. But he did his duty then, in a humble position, as conscientiously and as well as he has shown his ability to do it since in the large and important responsibilities thrust upon him.

While he was Governor he made a visit to the institution in company with the late Augustus Schell, who was one of the managers during Mr. Cleveland's term of work there. Afterward, when I went to the institution, I heard many of the inmates, some who had been there as pupils in his day, say: "Well, although Grover Cleveland rose to great power he did not forget the Institution for the Blind, and we all praise him for it."

It seems very odd to me to recall after nearly forty years the injunction of his older brother, William, to me. The brothers were very close friends and associates in spite of the fact that William was several years the elder. He always showed his desire to protect his younger brother, and would not allow anybody to be ungenerous or unjust to him. When they were first there together the younger brother was petted a good deal. Naturally, he grew out of this to some extent toward the close of the joint association there, and yet I recall with pleasure how William, when he was to be absent for a time, would say to me, "Well, I know you will be kind to my little brother"—a fatherly sort of feeling—something quite in consonance with the beautiful character of William Cleveland, who, even as a young man, was an exemplary Christian; generous to every one in his class, just in everything he did. I could not speak too highly of either of them.

CHAPTER II

PROFESSIONAL CAREER

I

RETURNING home in 1854, the young man began to think anew of the independent career which he had mapped out for himself. Although he had concluded to become a lawyer, for a time he sought, without success, in Utica and Syracuse, for temporary work which should be both congenial and remunerative. Thereupon he planned to go to Cleveland, Ohio, a town which had attracted his attention for the reason that it had been named for some member of his family. On his way he stopped in Buffalo to visit his uncle, the late Lewis F. Allen, then a well-known farmer, also engaged in editing the "American Shorthorn Herd Book." As it was necessary to revise this publication each year, the nephew was persuaded to remain, and so gave up his trip to the West. This incident fixed his future residence and enabled him to await there the professional success and the political career that came to him in due time.

Aided by his uncle, he obtained a place as student in the office of Bowen & Rogers, for many years one of the leading legal firms in western New York. For a time he lived with his uncle some distance from town and

continued to help him in the publication of the revised editions of his book. In 1855 his compensation as office-boy had reached the sum of $4 a week. He was then in his nineteenth year, and in the days of his power and influence he often recounted to his friends that he was thoroughly satisfied to earn this amount, because as the result of all his labors he was able to maintain himself and even to assist his mother. He worked hard, and his name first found its way into print in an acknowledgment of aid given to his uncle in the preparation of the Herd Book for 1861.

In connection with this work and while also a law student, he obtained an insight into the life of the plain, every-day people whom he understood so well and so often commended. For some years he lived at the Southern Hotel in Buffalo, then a favorite resort for drovers and farmers. I came into contact, some years ago, with one or two of the men, then far advanced in years, who had known him in these surroundings, and they insisted that they and their neighbors were always surprised to find so much knowledge of their own work and business in a young law student in what was to them a large city. It was here that his country training—added to his work with his uncle and his own interest in a great variety of people—had given him information about their occupations to such an extent that he was able, without effort, to show that he was almost an expert in their business and to obtain from them a degree of confidence which afforded him that insight into the characteristics of many kinds of people which was a distinguishing quality, not always recognized during his public career. He was wont, all through his life, to speak of these early experiences, saying, in substance:

> Looking back at that period, I can see that, while I lost a great deal by absence from home and family, and the lack of other domestic ties, it carried with it many compensations. Since entering public life, I have often recalled, almost instinctively and with advantage, the experiences growing out of the associations of that time. I came into contact, in the familiar way which enables one to understand human nature, with a class of men then much more common than now. Rude in many respects, with little of book education and less opportunity for obtaining it, they had strong, vigorous, and independent minds. They had a great deal more of practical knowledge than they were then credited with, and infinitely more than the studies of that period now current lead our young people to know.

He felt that few things could be more unfortunate than that so many persons should plume themselves upon their education and culture, and, at the same time, fail to remember the narrow facilities enjoyed by their grandfathers and fathers only a generation or so back. He thought that, many times in his life, when called upon to deal with great numbers and kinds of people, he had found these early experiences—in store, drovers' yard, hotel, or blind asylum—of the utmost value, and, without belittling or neglecting the literary side of education, if he could have had his way, he would have insisted that young men and women should be brought up to know more of their fellow-men of every grade and occupation. In his view, they would then be better fitted to make their way, rather than start, as was too often the case, with so little practical knowledge of the real world in which they were to live as seriously to handicap them.

II

His life at this time was not much out of the common run of the average law student. He worked hard at his profession, but also confirmed his habit as a persistent reader of the best literature. He performed the work of each day as best he could, forming thus early the habit of thoroughness in everything he attempted. He was admitted to the bar in May, 1859, but did not immediately begin practice on his own account, remaining four years longer with his preceptors, until he became chief clerk. Those who knew him then saw in him the wisdom, courage, and honesty which were always the salient points in his character. He mastered every subject he dealt with in all its bearings, and, having made up his mind for himself, could no more be swerved from his conviction of right than when Mayor, Governor, or President. This predominant quality of absolute integrity commanded respect. His business success was not conspicuous, but was steady. He began as chief clerk with the modest salary of $600, which was increased, year by year, until in the latter part of 1862, when he had just passed the age of twenty-five, it had reached $1000.

On the 1st of January, 1863, he left his preceptors and accepted an office which was both professional and political in its character: Assistant District Attorney of Erie County, at an annual salary of $600. He did not enter public life because of any dissatisfaction with his work or from undue ambition. He felt that this was the quickest and most effective way to reach an independent place in his profession. As he was the only

assistant in the office, most of the routine work fell upon him, and it was here that he fixed still more firmly those systematic habits which always stood him in good stead. He prepared and filed papers, drew indictments, and tried many cases in the courts. He told me that he then began to work late into the night, a habit which so grew upon him that he was never able to shake it off. His success in his new position gave him confidence and enabled him to extend his circle of acquaintances among the people of the country towns, then far more important than now as elements in the political life of Erie County. He had also gained recognition from the members of his profession.

During his term in this office he was so busily engaged with his duties that when he was drafted as a soldier he could not leave his work to enter the army. Two of his brothers were already in the army, the second son, Richard Cecil, having enlisted from Crawfordsville, Indiana, and seen valiant service in the Western armies under General Grant. Lewis Fredric, another brother, went at the first call from New York City and served in the Army of the Potomac. "In each case," as I am informed by a member of the family, "the first notes of the fife and drum drew the volunteers, and the family circle were informed with much pride only after they had become 'bonny boys in blue.'" As the family were dependent upon the earnings of the sons, Mr. Cleveland decided that, instead of entering the army, he would obtain a substitute. It is interesting to add that the bounty thus paid by him was borrowed from his superior officer, the District Attorney, and he told me that it was some time after his term had expired before he was able to spare the money to repay the loan.

Although the office of District Attorney was his first public place, this did not mark his earliest interest in politics. He himself has recorded that he chose his party in 1856, nearly a year before he reached his majority. In that campaign he favored the election of James Buchanan, and in 1858 he cast his first vote for the Democratic ticket.

III

Early in my acquaintance with him, Mr. Cleveland began to talk freely about his party affiliations. Only a few years before his death, in an article published during a Presidential campaign, he explained these pretty fully, so far as principle and personality entered into account. He talked very often, and with great freedom, about the old-fashioned methods of politics. These were explained by him substantially as follows:

> Before I reached my majority, I had begun work in the capacity of what would now be called a practical politician. I had no aspirations to be a boss, even if either the word or the thing had then been known, but I only followed the custom of my time in taking my place at the polls and distributing ballots to all those who asked for them, using my influence to convince the wavering, or to confirm those who belonged to my household of faith. As the result of this form of activity, I began as a boy the work of distributing ballots, standing alongside the veterans of my party. From 1858 until my election as Mayor in 1881, I went to the polls, took my place, ballots in hand, as a voluntary helper to my party and its candidates.

He would explain, with interest, how, in those days, nobody knew anything about hiring men to do such work, because it was both unnecessary and beyond the thought in politics. The use of money for any other purpose than printing tickets, hiring halls, or raising banners, did not enter the minds of voters, because they believed in the principles of their party and were not only willing but determined to give one day in the year to these practical efforts to exemplify them; and he continually emphasized his opinion that no change that had come over our life seemed to him more hurtful than this: that the free, devoted services of earnest men attached to principles and personalities should have been replaced by a system in which hirelings and heavy expenditures had become leading and almost dominating elements in political management.

When he talked of his experience in practical politics, it was never with a sneer or in jest. To him it was very serious. At one of my late meetings with him he said:

> I have been amused, since I entered the larger public life in 1882, at the spirit of patronage with which I have been treated by the so-called politicians. Somehow there seems to have been an impression that I was dealing with something I did not understand; but these men little knew how thoroughly I had been trained, and how I often laughed in my sleeve at their antics. From the beginning I never felt at a loss in dealing with them, because I knew that, back of the machinery with which they screened themselves, there was still a great and interested mass of people who did not wait for permission to form their opinions.

He insisted that, when he found himself in positions of responsibility, he had only to appeal to the people behind the machine to enable him, in the end, to carry out his ideas and purposes. He also felt that this knowledge, acquired in early life, had often fitted him to take advantage of the slips which the modern, professional politician always makes, and to appeal effectively, when necessary, to the support of sane and sober policies. At one of my latest long interviews with him he remarked, in the course of conversation: "When we shall return, in this country, to the best features of the active, personal party methods of our earlier days, supporting candidates or policies because, believing in them, men are willing to work for them without the hope or prospect of reward, we shall have less reason to despair either of our institutions or their workings."

It was, therefore, inevitable that the young man should be drawn into the larger public concerns of his county and section. From this time forth he was recognized as a rising figure in politics. At the expiration of the term of his superior, his party turned to him as a candidate for District Attorney. He had become well known in the county, and his opponents realized, in spite of their majority, that they would have no easy task to defeat him. Among his intimate friends at the time was Lyman K. Bass, a young Republican lawyer, afterward elected to Congress. The Republicans realized that they must select their strongest candidates. One night Mr. Cleveland had returned home earlier than usual, when he was soon greeted by his roommate, Mr. Bass, who said: "Well, Cleve, I have been offered the nomination for District Attorney against you." The reply was: "Well, why don't you take it?" He did, with the result that he was elected by a narrow majority.

IV

Mr. Cleveland at once returned to his profession as an independent practitioner, and in order to do this he declined the position of Assistant United States District Attorney, and associated himself with A. P. Laning and Oscar Folsom, the latter one of his closest friends, who had himself accepted the office in question. Here he had a chance to demonstrate how well he had profited by his experience in an important professional place.

The partnership continued until 1870, when Mr. Cleveland accepted the Democratic nomination for Sheriff of Erie County. He hesitated for some time, because it was unusual for lawyers to accept this office, but he concluded that there were strong reasons for doing so. He always said he had worked very hard ever since he was a boy of sixteen, so that he had had little time for reading and for the thorough professional study of which he felt the need. He, therefore, concluded that the Sheriff's office, by taking him out of practice for a time and still keeping him about the courts in a professional relation, would give him the required leisure for the needed study. Another important element was that he could save a little money. So, when the advice of friends confirmed his judgment, he accepted the nomination and was elected. He performed his duties while in the office well and satisfactorily, and returned, on January 1, 1874, to the practice of the law, a stronger man and with a much wider outlook than he had had before. He always insisted that this temporary diversion had enabled him to take a better place than he would have otherwise held.

When his term expired, he went into partnership with

his old rival, Lyman K. Bass, and a younger associate, then already known as an excellent lawyer, the late Wilson S. Bissell, who was to attain prominence by becoming Postmaster-General in his second administration. With some few changes in personnel, the firm continued until Mr. Cleveland went to Albany to become Governor in January, 1883, by which time he had become one of the recognized leaders of the bar of this city and section of the State. He had maintained his interest in politics, without seeking or accepting office. Now and then he would go to a State convention as a delegate. He had neither the reputation nor character of an ambitious man, nor, at that time, would the public have looked to him as the most available figure for great public responsibilities. He had become a lawyer who gave close attention to his work and to his profession and the duties which it involved.

V

In writing about Mr. Cleveland at a time when his political success had somewhat obscured his position as a lawyer, I procured from the late Wilson S. Bissell an estimate of the professional work and position of his partner. This was done at the suggestion of Mr. Cleveland himself, and as nothing since written about this part of his life has either improved or superseded the resulting description of his legal attainments, I reproduce it herewith as one of the most interesting of the documents pertaining to his career:

Buffalo, New York, August 1, 1892.

Dear Mr. Parker:

My acquaintance with Mr. Cleveland began in August, 1869. I had just graduated from Yale and made application for and

was admitted to a clerkship in the office of Laning, Cleveland & Folsom, the firm of which he was a member, and which was then just organized. The firm did a very large business. They were the attorneys for the New York Central and the other Vanderbilt railroads centring at Buffalo, and they had a large miscellaneous practice as well. I was one of the six clerks employed by them. They defended the New York Central Railroad in a class of suits brought to recover penalties for overcharge of fare. These suits became a very remarkable class of litigation, aggregating more than three thousand in number.

I soon found that Mr. Cleveland was the "working member." Laning and Folsom were both brilliant men, but Cleveland was undoubtedly the most profound lawyer and was the mainstay of the office. He was generally the first one in the office in the morning and the last one out of it at night, and all the hours of these long days were devoted with patience and zeal to the work he found before him.

He had already attained prominence at the bar, the result of no influence or relationships or of adventitious circumstance, but of patient industry and of downright—and always upright—hard work. And so, even then, he was of the lawyers of his years *facile princeps*. His further achievements as a lawyer, which brought him into the very front rank of his profession, were only added and natural results of his untiring industry and energy. To these the other disadvantages of limited education and early mental training also yielded.

How well and how encouraging it would be to the younger struggling lawyers of to-day if they could appreciate the exact truthfulness of these statements, and take the lesson of it to themselves! True, he was endowed with a great fund of good common sense, and he was honest—honest with himself, honest with his client, honest with his subject. He thus became, mentally, rather judicial than partizan, and he would have made as able and capable a Chief Justice as he was a President.

In the trial of a cause he neither relied on "genius" nor the inspiration of the moment to help him out, but upon most careful and painstaking preparation of the case in advance and the anticipation of every possible adverse contingency. Before

the trial he was always timid and self-distrustful; once pushed or dragged into court by his client, however, he was not only part and parcel of the case, but bold and self-reliant; and through much practice he acquired great skill and sagacity in marshaling his facts before the jury.

During a trial he would devote himself to the case absolutely and completely, whether it was large or small, whether with fee or without, and for a rich client or for a poor one. The noon hour was, for him, always an opportunity for further study and preparation—not for eating—and the hours of the night, not infrequently the whole night, a further opportunity.

And so he honestly bought and paid for success with honest work. In an address before the bar on the occasion of the death of his devoted personal friend, Oscar Folsom, referring to his qualities as a lawyer, he said: "In the practice of his profession, and in the solution of legal questions, he clearly saw what was right and just, and then he expected to find the law leading him directly there." This with truthfulness could and should be said of Mr. Cleveland.

In those days it was the habit of the judges of that locality, more than now, when a close legal question would arise in a trial, to call for an opinion upon it in open court from some lawyer in the court-room not engaged in the case. So good and well recognized was Cleveland's judgment, and so great his legal attainments, that he would almost invariably be the lawyer thus consulted, whenever he happened to be present. "The law is a jealous mistress," but there was never occasion in Cleveland's case to suggest a lack of devotion. Of course it would have been impossible to yield such devotion to his profession if he had not loved it; but he loved his professional work, found his greatest pleasure and satisfaction in it, and he loved also the study of the law as a science.

This fact will serve to explain the interruption in his professional career which he permitted when he became Sheriff. His opportunity for considering that step was less, perhaps, than of any important act of his life. The circumstances were these: There was an important local ticket to be nominated, and there seemed a fair opportunity to overcome a normally large adverse majority by the selection of a strong combination of candidates. Cleveland was popular and had made a splendid

run for District Attorney of the county not long before. On the day before the nominating convention was to be held it was suggested that Cleveland should take the nomination. Such a contingency had never entered his mind, and he at first declined to listen to the suggestion. Party managers then surrounded him, and at length successfully urged upon him the importance of the subject as a party matter, and his duty and obligation to his party. Yet in connection with his reluctant assent was the consideration, expressed to me that day, that if he should be elected it would afford him a longed-for and splendid opportunity to study law.

His partners were loath to lose him, both because they were personally much attached to him and because they had come to know and rely upon his great strength and ability as a lawyer. He had had the laboring oar in all their more important litigations, and was in the midst of great activity and usefulness. He was conservative by nature and a safe counselor. Indeed, if he erred at all, it was on the side of conservatism and safety.

Mr. Cleveland was in the best sense a successful lawyer. He never belonged to the class of "money-making" lawyers, although he often received large fees for his professional services. He always met his personal obligations promptly, and he abhorred debt; but he never had any desire to accumulate a fortune, and he was generous to a degree. I recall the fact that, on resuming the practice of law after the expiration of his term as Sheriff, his first act was to lend a considerable sum of money to a poor client in distress. His generosity was evidenced not alone by direct gifts of money, but by professional advice and service. He tried many a case without fee or the expectation of it, and often intervened to prevent the doing of injustice because of his hatred of injustice. A notable instance of this was his devotion to the case of Flannigan before Governor Cornell. Cleveland's first relation with the case was after the man had been sentenced to be hanged, and despite Cornell's well-known disinclination to exercise the pardon power, he secured a commutation of the sentence to life-imprisonment.

It seemed to him always a pleasure as well as a duty to give aid and counsel to the younger members of the bar, and many a successful lawyer of to-day in Buffalo will recall and attest the readiness and cheerfulness with which he aided in com-

plicated legal situations, or assisted as counsel in the trial of causes, accepting for himself at most nothing but nominal fees.

On January 1, 1874, he resumed the practice of law, becoming a member of the firm of Bass, Cleveland & Bissell. Mr. Bass was then a member of Congress, and by reason of failing health he removed to Colorado to reside at the expiration of his term of office, so that Mr. Cleveland became practically the head of the firm at once. The business of the office was large and active, consisting of a general miscellaneous practice, and he applied himself to it as assiduously as ever during the ensuing eight years. This was the period of his greatest activity and usefulness as a lawyer. He tried and argued cases in all the courts of the State and in the District and Circuit Courts of the United States. He was one of the counsel who secured for the plaintiff the largest verdict ever rendered by a jury in western New York—upward of $240,000. He worked incessantly, and his vacation period never exceeded ten days in the year.

He was engaged in the trial of a case in court in October, 1881, when he was again called upon by his party to do further public service by accepting the nomination for Mayor of Buffalo, which was then tendered and urged upon him. He yielded to this demand the more readily because he saw before him not only an opportunity to serve his party, but to perform a public duty, and, although he remained a partner in the law firm of Cleveland, Bissell & Sicard during the following year, still, with characteristic regard for and conscientious devotion to the performance of official duty, his personal interests as a lawyer were set aside for a time, and, as events proved, for seven years.

Two things remain to be said in portraying Mr. Cleveland's career as a lawyer: One, that in all his varied relations with clients, lawyers, and courts his every act was characterized by the highest sense of honor and by the most delicate appreciation of and compliance with all the rules of professional ethics; and the other, that every professional engagement, great or small, received the best judgment, thought, and energy of which he was capable. Nothing he undertook was slighted; therefore all his work was done well.

Yours sincerely,

W. S. Bissell.

CHAPTER III

MAYOR OF BUFFALO—CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR

I

In 1881 Buffalo found it necessary to recognize the changed conditions of municipal development. It was increasing in population and wealth, and in importance as a business centre of western New York. Lying at the western end of the Erie Canal, at the head of lake navigation, and with growing railroad facilities, it had developed from village to town, from town to city. It had outgrown primitive methods, and yet neither the people nor the system of government had been assimilated to the new surroundings. Politics and business had become so intermingled that it was often difficult to tell where one began and the other ended. Occasionally Democrats would carry the city, but, as a rule, it was in the hands of Republicans. Whether one or the other was in power made little difference, but it became clear that unless methods were changed the city would suffer.

When a revolt against machine rule was inaugurated in 1881, the opposition elements looked about for a Democrat who would both be likely to carry the election, and, by recognizing the new conditions, change them for the better. A number of offices were to be filled,

and many elements had to be satisfied. The matter was broached to Mr. Cleveland, and he declined at first to consider it; but when importunity became stronger, he consented to accept the nomination if the convention would select a ticket satisfactory to him and the reform element in his own party as well as to the independents. In accordance with his insistence, ordinary rules were so reversed that nominations for minor offices were made before the candidate for Mayor was chosen. The convention was held on October 25, 1881, and Mr. Cleveland became the head of the ticket as a candidate for Mayor.

He was thus able to put his canvass upon high ground, promoting public interest and, at the same time, keeping his party up to the highest possible standard. In his speech accepting the nomination, he first emphasized his own reluctance and then insisted that:

> Because I am a Democrat, and because I think no one has a right at this time of all others to consult his own inclinations as against the call of his party and fellow-citizens, and hoping that I may be of use in your efforts to inaugurate a better rule in municipal affairs, I accept the nomination tendered me.

He also believed that much could be done to reduce taxation; that the most rigid scrutiny of public expenditures ought to effect a saving to the community; that existing extravagance, which he never attempted to overrate, could be corrected without injury to the service; and that the affairs of the city should be managed with the same care and economy as private interests. He added a significant phrase to the effect that "when we consider that public officials are the trustees of the people, and hold their places and exercise their powers

for the benefit of the people, there should be no higher inducement of a faithful and honest discharge of public duty."

This was to have consequences reaching much further than its author could have thought upon that October day when he uttered it. Three years later, when, in 1884, the late Colonel Lamont was casting about for a title to the first pamphlet issued during the Presidential campaign, with the instinct of the newspaper man, he tried to find a head-line. So he finally condensed, from the paragraph just quoted, the sentiment, "Public office, a public trust." This was the origin of the sentiment always attributed to Mr. Cleveland, but of which he never claimed to be the author. It was merely the smart, keen insight of a born politician who had coined a phrase soon to become famous. But the idea was his, and he thus sounded the keynote of a whole career. Upon this principle was based the whole of the campaign for the mayoralty, and it permeated the four others of which he was destined to be the head.

The canvass was brief, and the candidate made no further speeches. He was able to command the united support of his own party and that of a considerable element among his opponents. Some of the leading Republican papers either openly supported him or failed to oppose him, so that the movement in his favor was soon full of enthusiasm and vigor. He had declared at the beginning that he would not permit the use of money for the purpose of influencing voters, and that he would make no canvass in the saloons, as was then common. He carried out his promise to neglect no legitimate means to deserve and command the public support, and after the short, sharp campaign, conducted throughout in this spirit, he was elected Mayor by a majority

of thirty-five hundred, carrying into office with him, by good and sufficient majorities, the entire Democratic ticket.

He at once began to put his affairs in order for the responsible duties which he must soon assume. He so arranged his law business that it might be carried on by his partners, and prepared to give the whole of his time to public work. He immediately recalled the promises he had made when nominated—not merely as something by which he had been able to command election, but as something to be redeemed. He announced that he saw no reason why the business of the city should not be conducted as economically and conscientiously as if it were his own private concern. He thought first of the city, next of his own party, and last of himself.

II

ENTERING upon his official duties on January 1, 1882, no formal inaugural ceremony was necessary. The next day he sent to the Council an elaborate message setting forth in detail his conception of the duties that lay before him and the body which he addressed. He insisted that the money of the people had been placed in their hands to further public purposes, and that when any part of the funds of the taxpayers was diverted to other purposes, or when a greater sum was applied to any municipal purpose than was necessary, it constituted a violation of duty and of the oath of office. To him there was "no difference in his duties and obligations whether a person is intrusted with the money of one man or many." He again expressed the idea that he and the members of the Council were "the trus-

tees and agents of our fellow-citizens, holding their funds in sacred trust to be expended for their benefit."

He began, even thus early, to demonstrate that capacity for details which was so to distinguish him in the public mind during the remainder of his life. The paving and cleaning of streets, abuses incident to public printing, remissness in the duties of the City Auditor's office—were all dealt with in his first message. As he went on, he discovered other weak spots in the conduct of the city business. When the German newspapers were designated to do the city's printing at a large expense, he vetoed the resolution in spite of the fact that the German population bore a very important relation to its entire number of inhabitants, insisting that the expenditure of public money in such cases came very near to being a subsidy which nobody ought to encourage and which the people of the city ought not to tolerate. He called attention to the discrepancy between the cost of public and private improvements, and scarcely a week passed that he did not transmit a message couched in language so strong and positive that there was more than the usual difficulty in dealing with it. He discovered provisions for extra pay for clerks, demanded the improvement of water supply and sewerage, insisted that the law should not be evaded by dividing contracts into several parts so that they might be awarded without advertising, as required by law, in all these cases interposing the veto with success.

Proceeding from generals to particulars, within a few months after he became Mayor he sent to the Council the most important of his messages. A bill appropriating more than four hundred thousand dollars for the cleaning of streets came before him, and as this estimate was higher than that of another bidder, he sent to the

Council what came to be known as his "Plain Speech Veto," in which he insisted that "clumsy appeals to prejudice or passion, insinuations with a kind of low, cheap cunning as to the motives and purposes of others, and the mock heroism of brazen effrontery which openly declares that a wholesome public sentiment is to be set at naught, sometimes deceive and lead honest men to aid in the consummation of schemes which, if exposed, they would look upon with abhorrence."

It is scarcely necessary, at this distance from the events under consideration, and with the limitations I have imposed upon myself, to develop further particulars. It is sufficient to say that, in less than six months, he was recognized as one of the strong, virile figures both of his city and his State. At no time did he turn aside to look for higher honors. Then, as ever, he acted as if the duty which lay before him was the only one requiring attention. He could not, however, avoid mention of his name as an eligible candidate for the gubernatorial nomination, which was soon to be made, but he refused, then as ever, to use one office as a stepping-stone to another.

During his term as Mayor he developed an unsuspected capacity for public speaking, which was destined, in due time, to make him one of the most sought-for men in the public life of that time. He made few speeches, and none of them was long, but those that he delivered found acceptance, not only with his hearers but with a wide reading public.

III

The people of western New York had long deemed themselves neglected by reason of inability to obtain

recognition from either party for any candidate for Governor. It was but natural that the local pride of the judicial district, which then comprised a goodly population of the western section of the State, should assert itself anew with little regard to party. In order to do this a strong sentiment was developed in favor of presenting for this honor the man who had so distinguished himself as Mayor of Buffalo. It is the fashion, when reputations are made within a brief time, to attribute them to luck; but Mr. Cleveland's friends and the people of his district knew better.

The Republican nomination for Governor in 1882 produced a great deal of dissatisfaction, for the reason that the candidate chosen, the late Charles J. Folger, then Secretary of the Treasury, was supposed to be the candidate of the Federal administration, nominated by the ruthless use of office-holding machinery. It was impossible to eradicate this idea from the public mind.

As a result of this feeling, there was a strong competition for the Democratic nomination. Both Brooklyn and New York presented strong and vigorous candidates, the first in the person of the late General Henry W. Slocum, and the latter in that of the late Roswell P. Flower. Neither commended himself entirely to the independent sentiment which had been aroused in the Republican party. So Mr. Cleveland's friends, many of them Republicans, made up their minds to present his name for nomination at the State Convention, which was to meet in Syracuse on September 22. They formed committees, allotted the work among themselves, carried the local caucuses, and were ready to march upon Syracuse with a fair number of delegates.

But Mr. Cleveland's record as Mayor of Buffalo had not been limited, in repute, to his immediate neighbor-

hood. Among others, Daniel Manning, then the most potent manager in his party, had been attracted to the work of the Buffalo Mayor. Among those who were active agents in promoting this work was Edgar K. Apgar, who, as a deputy in one of the departments at Albany, and as one of the accepted pupils of Samuel J. Tilden, had been authorized by Mr. Manning to find out how much strength the movement in favor of Mr. Cleveland's nomination might have. Mr. Apgar, on August 23, wrote to Mr. Cleveland, assuring him of the conclusion to which he had come, that his nomination for Governor would more certainly insure success than any other that could be made. He averred that he had formed and expressed this opinion many weeks earlier—even before his name had been mentioned in the Buffalo papers—and that his conviction had been confirmed and strengthened by time and thought.

Assuring him that he had consulted with many men qualified to know, and that all of them, after due consideration, had come to the conclusion that this was the policy to pursue, he suggested to Mr. Cleveland that he should meet Mr. Manning, who represented so large an element in the Democratic party; that the national and controlling local leaders were accustomed to seek Mr. Manning's counsel and to follow it; and that, while he understood Mr. Cleveland was not seeking the nomination for Governor, he was sure that a conference with Mr. Manning would simplify the situation and enable everybody interested to reach the proper conclusion, viz., the one he had already emphasized. In the course of his letter, Mr. Apgar said:

> The Democratic party has so often, in recent years, abandoned its principles and made dishonest alliances for the sake of temporary success, which even in most cases it has failed to secure,

that it has, naturally, largely lost the confidence of the people. It has fallen, in so many instances, into bad hands, that thousands of Republicans, tired of their own party and longing for a change, have been fearful to trust our promises of reform.

Then, as with almost prophetic insight, he proceeded:

If we had stood faithfully by Jeffersonian principles; if we had exercised all the power of legitimate party discipline to destroy corruption and demagogism in our own ranks; if we had been content to deserve success and to wait for it, we would, in my judgment, have been for many years firmly intrenched in power in the State and nation. The weakness of our present position, in which we seem to depend more upon Republican dissensions and decay than upon any strength of our own, is, I think, much more due to our failures in the directions I have indicated than it is to any personal or factional quarrels which have existed among us.

Naturally, this put Mr. Cleveland's canvass upon a new footing and devolved new responsibilities. He evidently looked upon the matter in this light, and, as a result, he took some time to consider it. He discussed the situation fully and freely with his friends, and six days later wrote the following letter, which has never before been printed:

Buffalo, August 29, 1882.

My dear Sir:

Your letter of the 23d I have read with much satisfaction, not only because of the interest thereby manifested in my candidacy, but not the less on account of your sentiments therein expressed, so much in accord with my own, touching the cause of Democracy generally and the condition of our party and its needs if success is to be attained.

The suggestion you make in relation to my seeking an interview with Mr. Manning I have thoughtfully considered. I am sorry that I have not the honor of a personal acquaintance with

one who occupies so prominent a position in the party and who has it in his power to assist my cause so much. I hope it will not be very long before I shall have the opportunity of meeting him face to face. May I be allowed, however, to suggest to you, who have kindly said that you favor my nomination and hope for my election, that the fact referred to in your letter that I am not seeking the nomination for Governor by personal importunity and have refrained from adopting that line of conduct, together with other considerations which will perhaps occur to you, based upon existing conditions, perhaps furnish reasons why I should not at this time depart from the course which I have adopted, for the purpose of bringing about an interview which it seems to me could not fail, if for no other reason than because it was exceptional, to be misconstrued and misinterpreted.

The hearty and spontaneous efforts of my friends and neighbors to secure my nomination have been most gratifying, and I feel that I ought to second their endeavors in every way which my judgment approves. The assurance of support and aid contained in your letter, coming as they do from one with whom I have no personal acquaintance, add greatly to my satisfaction and encouragement. I hope it is needless for me to say that, in common with all real Democrats, I sincerely desire the unity of the party and the success which must, I think, be consequent thereupon; that I shall accept without question the result of the convention, whatever it may be, and continue to labor for the election of Democratic nominees and the triumph of Democratic principles.

Yours sincerely,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Edgar K. Apgar, Esq.,
Albany, New York.

IV

WHEN the delegations from western New York were ready to go to Syracuse, it was intimated that it might be a good thing if they could take with them their

candidate, who was comparatively unknown to the great majority of the men who made up the membership of the convention. At first he ridiculed the suggestion and seemed determined to take his own course; but late on the evening of the day before the convention was to meet, apparently by some prearrangement, he was so inundated with telegrams that he consented, almost without any time for preparation, to make the visit. He reached Syracuse late in the day, met Mr. Manning, and impressed upon the mind of the latter and his friends the fact that a new personality had appeared in Democratic politics. He then returned to Buffalo and was at his desk the next morning.

He always spoke with a good deal of interest of his trip to Syracuse. As already stated, he had manifested the strongest disinclination to comply with the request of his friends, but when he had done so, the humor of the situation appealed to him. He said in substance:

> It was almost beyond my understanding what to do, or for what purpose I was needed at Syracuse. As this was my first meeting with Mr. Manning, who had thrown himself into the management of my canvass, I was, naturally, desirous of doing whatever he wanted. I reached there early in the evening of a very hot day, and found myself at once, coatless, in all the hurly-burly of a State convention. I soon discovered that the principal thing that was wanted was a chance to look me over, with the result that, in spite of the difficulty of submitting to such an unusual test, I came rather to enjoy it. As I remember, I remained about the hotel, being introduced to delegates from every part of the State, talking freely with Mr. Manning and the various gentle-

men attached to my fortunes, and finally, about two o'clock, I took a train back to Buffalo. It was a novel experience, but, after the training I had had, did not impress me, after all, as having in it so many difficulties as I had anticipated.

In general, he was inclined to discourage the personal appearance of candidates before conventions, or even before the people, more than was absolutely necessary, but he realized what the curiosity is, on the part of the delegates and interested men, to see the candidate for whom they are asked to cast their vote, and looked upon this, his first and last experience of the kind, as an interesting event in his career. In the convention the next day, he commanded, on the first ballot, a fair vote, which was largely augmented on the second; after which the drift became so strong—not only because of his merits, but because of the antagonism between the two candidates from the eastern part of the State—that he was nominated by a substantial majority on the third ballot.

V

Then followed one of the most remarkable campaigns ever known, even in the political history of New York. Opposition to the Republican candidate within his own party became so decided and the drift toward Mr. Cleveland was so strong that there was no such thing as checking it. One leading man after another, in every part of the State, bolted the nomination of Judge Folger and allied himself openly with the Democratic candidate. Many of the sturdiest Republican newspapers pursued the same policy.

A little more than a fortnight after the adjournment

of the Syracuse Convention, Mr. Cleveland's letter of acceptance appeared. It was based wholly upon the lines laid down by him during his short service as Mayor of Buffalo. He framed it in keeping with the larger politics upon which he had entered. In it he paid no attention whatever to Federal politics, except to condemn the interference of public officials in the making of nominations for State offices. He took a strong position in favor of reform in the Civil Service, and against assessments upon office-holders. It was as natural that he should pronounce in favor of home rule in cities as that he should insist upon the proper regulation of corporations. In view of the importance of this question in recent years, it will be of interest to quote a single paragraph:

> Corporations are created by the law for certain defined purposes, and are restricted in their operations by specific limitations. Acting within their legitimate sphere they should be protected; but when, by combination or by the exercise of unwarranted power, they oppress the people, the same authority which created should restrain them and protect the rights of the citizen. The law lately passed for the purpose of adjusting the relations between the people and corporations should be executed in good faith, with an honest design to effectuate its objects and with a due regard for the interests involved.

He also took high ground in the matter of the improvement and management of the canals, pronounced strongly against the expenditure of money in elections, and again emphasized the duty "which public servants owe, by constantly bearing in mind that they are put in place to protect the rights of the people, to answer their needs as they arise, and to expend, for their benefit, the money drawn from them by taxation."

VI

He made no speeches and wrote no other public letters. When the votes were counted it was found that he had been chosen Governor by 192,854 majority. Nothing like it had been seen in the politics of an American State. Here was a man who, to the ordinary politician, was almost unknown. He had never held any office outside of a comparatively small city, and yet he had been elected Governor by a most decisive majority. In this day of triumph, when his partizans everywhere were indulging themselves in demonstrations of enthusiasm, the man who was the subject of it felt more strongly than ever before a sense of responsibility seldom equaled in the annals of our public life. But there was no vanity, no exultation, no assertion, even in his most confidential relations with his friends—no expression of any feeling but the sense of obligation which rested upon him from that time forward.

During the remainder of his term as Mayor he went about his usual duties, accepted few of the hundreds of invitations that came to him, and made but one speech, that at a reception given him by the Manhattan Club in December. Here he set forth anew his conception of responsibility, and repeated many of the ideas which he was afterward able to carry out as executive officer.

CHAPTER IV

GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK—PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

I

MR. CLEVELAND went to Albany only one day before the time fixed for his inauguration as Governor. He did not encourage the attendance of Buffalo friends or delegations, but was accompanied only by his friend and law partner, Wilson S. Bissell. On New Year's day he took office, with a brief address and the simple ceremonies which have long been the rule in New York. When the Legislature convened on the next day he sent in his message and was fairly embarked upon his new and broader career.

A Governor of New York is put to a severe test owing to the fact that the State has such a great population and varied interests. Especially in the olden days this office was looked upon as only second in importance to that of the Presidency, and yet but one of its holders—Martin Van Buren—had been preferred for the higher place. The names of those who had been elevated to that lofty position were proof of the truth of this claim. George Clinton, De Witt Clinton, Silas Wright, William L. Marcy, William H. Seward, Horatio Seymour, John A. Dix, and Samuel J. Tilden were among Mr. Cleveland's principal predecessors, so that

he came into office with the obligation strong upon him to maintain its traditions.

The people of the State did not have to wait long to discover that they made no mistake when they placed their power into the hands of one entirely worthy to wield it. The enormous majority which had been recorded in his favor only a few weeks before enhanced rather than diminished the responsibility which he felt.

Mr. Cleveland had not been identified, in any definite way, with the management of his party, so that it was not necessary to take sides. Neither then, nor at any other time in his life, did he ally himself with a faction. He had incurred few obligations to individuals and none to districts or interests. His training in the exacting duties of his profession and his experience in the public trusts confided to him, his settled habit of considering on its merits everything presented to him, his policy of examining everything with great care, but never crossing streams before he came to them—all were of service to him in what he always looked upon as one of the emergencies of his life.

II

His first annual message, like that of every man who comes newly to a governorship, was prepared under the difficulties incident to lack of opportunity to get fairly into the atmosphere of State business. In the opening sentence he said:

> I transmit this, my first annual message, with the intimation that a newly elected executive can hardly be prepared to present a complete exhibit of State affairs, or to submit in detail a great variety of recommendations for the action of the Legislature.

Naturally it was a brief, concise document, limited to the smallest number of subjects consistent with precedent, and dealt in a practical way with public affairs, treating them in the same manner as he would his own private business.

Long after he had served a term as President, he said to me many times that he did not think he had ever undertaken a harder task than that which devolved upon him in the preparation of his first message as Governor. As it was his first experience in State politics, he said it was an absolute necessity that, under the circumstances, he must deal almost wholly with general conditions, because it was impossible that any man, coming unprepared to such a place, should have the sure grasp of State affairs which would enable him to import into his message any considerable measure of original suggestion. He declared that he found in those days, as well as in his later experience as President, that his lack of legislative experience and his ignorance of the legislative mind were drawbacks. He always insisted that the system pursued, not only in New York but in many other States, of expecting from a new Governor a message outlining serious legislative policies was, on the whole, a bad one.

The reason assigned for this opinion was that, while occasionally a new Governor may have taken part in a given agitation or held certain ideas that he would like to carry into effect because of his interest in them, yet his position makes it necessary for him to conceal or cover up his lack of information on many of the vital topics which must come before him for action or opinion in the course of his work. For this reason he believed that the considerable interim allowed by the Federal Constitution between the Presidential election and the

inauguration gave the new official a great advantage over what he would have if compelled to come into office without the time for complete preparation.

III

Of necessity he dealt with the interests of the canals and emphasized their importance because, at the last session of the Legislature, before his accession, the State had decided to free the canals from tolls, and he insisted that, as the people had surrendered the protection thus afforded, together with the revenue derived from the tolls, the new system should have time to commend itself before heavy expenditures were made for enlarging the canals.

He devoted considerable attention to the public schools; emphasized the importance of careful attention to banks and insurance companies; showed a comprehensive grasp of the relations which the National Guard should bear to the State, and was emphatic in his insistence that the management of prisons and charitable institutions should be improved. In dealing with the latter, his early experience had evidently impressed him deeply. This no doubt accounted for his insistence that the abuses of the insane should be exposed and steps be taken to remove them.

For many years the Quarantine and Health Departments of the State and its great cities had been in bad repute, and the importance of correcting the abuses was emphasized. It was natural that he should recognize the importance of a reform in municipal government. His own recent experience had impressed upon his mind very strongly the necessity for this. Perhaps

the most distinctive recommendation made by him was that in favor of the enactment of a State law governing appointments to office. He did this with such success that he was able to announce in his next annual message that New York was already in the lead in the inauguration of such a system.

IV

MAINTAINING the reputation he had established at Buffalo, while Mayor, as a master of vetoes, he kept up this process in Albany. It was a change of scene, not of the principles upon which he carried on the business of government. He proceeded, in the one place as in the other, with deliberation, always having in view as his prime object the protection of the public treasury.

In Buffalo, in spite of his sympathy with the object, he had vetoed an ordinance to appropriate money to a Memorial Day fund; so in Albany, he disapproved a bill authorizing county supervisors to erect a soldiers' monument. In doing so he declared: "It is not an agreeable duty to refuse to give sanction to the appropriation of money to such a worthy and patriotic object, but I cannot forget that the public money is raised by taxation, and with all that justifies its exaction from the people is the necessity of its use for a purpose connected with the safety and substantial welfare of the public." In closing the same message he indulged himself in the legislative lecturing that had made him famous in Buffalo and lessons in which were to be transferred to Washington. He expressed the hope that "due regard to fundamental principles and the support

of the Constitution will prevent the passage of a bill of this nature in the future."

He also vetoed bills for the amendment of charters when he saw that they had partizan objects behind them. Of one of these, which was advocated by his own party, and was supposed to bring it some advantages, he said:

> I believe in an open and sturdy partizanship, which secures the legitimate advantages of party supremacy; but parties were made for the people, and I am unwilling, knowingly, to give my assent to measures purely partizan which will sacrifice or endanger their interests.

Nearly every distinctive act was an emphasis of his doctrine that public taxes should only be levied for public purposes. He also insisted upon the enactment of laws fixing responsibility for the safe-keeping of money, whether public or trust funds. Upon all these questions he showed that independence of party which distinguished the whole of his career both before and after. His first Legislature was one difficult to manage. His own party, in the upper branch, was rent by division, and he had to face a series of political trades which had been made between one or other of these factions and the Republican members; but he went his way, paying little heed to these things.

V

He did not escape criticism, as indeed he would have scarcely desired or expected to do. Perhaps the most valiant of these outbursts was caused by his veto of what was known as the bill fixing at five cents the fares

to be charged on New York elevated railroads. It was a question which had been agitated for many years, and out of it had grown a strong feeling of opposition to the corporations engaged in overhead transit; but the Governor recognized that, while there were some abuses in the management of the roads, the action of the Legislature would produce great injustice and lead to practical confiscation. After giving long and patient hearings to all parties, he made up his mind and interposed a strong and comprehensive veto message. His conclusions were summed up in the following paragraph:

> But we have especially in our keeping the honor and good faith of a great State, and we should see to it that no suspicion attaches, through any act of ours, to the fair fame of the commonwealth. The State should not only be strictly just, but scrupulously fair, and in all its relations to the citizen every legal and moral obligation should be recognized. This can only be done by legislating without vindictiveness or prejudice, and with a firm determination to deal justly and fairly with those from whom we exact obedience.

That he had expected great, and perhaps permanent, unpopularity from this action was illustrated in an anecdote told by his friends to the effect that, in the evening of the day that he had sent this message to the Assembly, he said: "Well, to-morrow I shall be the most unpopular man in the State of New York." This was, however, a serious mistake, and he soon had reason to discover that his regard for the public honor, his care in examining the matter in all its bearings and then in giving his reasons in full, had made such an impression upon the public mind that, instead of inviting attack, he had really insured commendation and defense.

VI

In appointments to office he carried his own principles into practice by promoting many men who had served in minor places and had thus become familiar with the duties. Thus when it came to the appointment of a Superintendent of Insurance, an office redolent of politics, he chose the late John A. McCall, who had entered the office as a messenger and worked himself up by ability and character. Mr. Cleveland applied throughout the principle of choosing his appointees with immediate reference to fitness.

The most important question that came before him was the appointment of the Railroad Commission, the law creating this body having been enacted by this the first Legislature with which he had to deal. He exercised the greatest care in the selection of its members, and his choice gave general satisfaction, regardless of party. He determined, as he often said afterward, that he would make this body thoroughly representative by appointing the best men that he could find in the State. His care in this was justified in the same manner as was his appointment of the original Interstate Commerce Commission during his second year as President.

He came into office at a time when the conflict between labor and capital was perhaps sharper than at any previous period, and he was able so to deal with this question as to avoid unnecessary clashing and to insure the enactment of laws which were both just and conservative. Even here he never posed as the special friend of labor, a fact which was well demonstrated by his veto of the bill prohibiting work for more than twelve hours a day

on the part of drivers and conductors on street railways. He disapproved this law on purely local grounds, but his reasons so commended themselves to public approval that even the advocates of the labor elements finally concluded that the law could never have been enforced, and many of them admitted that it would have been dangerous and impracticable legislation.

This hurried review of his first year as Governor will show that he shirked nothing, did not interfere unduly with the course of events, took everything seriously, maintained fairly good relations with his party, although refusing to do many of the things which its leaders wanted, and that, in short, he swerved neither to the right nor the left.

VII

Mr. Cleveland began the year 1884 with his second annual message to the Legislature. If there had been anything like hesitation, it had now disappeared; if he had lacked in confidence or felt that he did not know the affairs of the State so well as he ought, he was now to demonstrate his ability to carry out his own promises, in spite of all limitations, and to conduct his office as he saw fit. He now felt that he knew what laws the best interests of the State demanded, and he recommended them with the positiveness which had distinguished his earlier efforts as Mayor. He also knew better how to manage the Legislature, so that every moment of the intervening year had shown growth. He had made only a few speeches, short and to the point, so that he scarcely interrupted his public work for a moment.

The new message reasserted the responsibility of all

in authority in the State and announced his unwavering determination to see that this standard was reached so far as he had power to promote it. He dealt especially with the pernicious influences which made possible so large a body of local legislation. He found that these dealt with interests which under no pretense should be permitted to come before a body which represented all the people of the State. He insisted that the powers of boards of supervisors and other local bodies had been enlarged so that they might deal with local questions, and he complained bitterly that bills for building bridges, roads, engine-houses, monuments, for establishing libraries, and for the regulation and purchase of cemeteries, and acts of a like character, were continually encroaching upon the time of the Legislature and setting aside all precedents. He insisted that log-rolling was an inevitable incident of such a policy, and lectured the Legislature with his customary force—even anticipating the plain speaking which he was soon to use with the Congress of the United States.

As was his wont throughout his career, the subject of taxation still commanded his attention, and strict economy in State affairs was enjoined, so that good government should be furnished at the least possible cost. This was pronounced to be nothing but common honesty, the best attribute of sovereignty and the highest duty to the people. Its recognition was to him a characteristic of beneficent government, and its failure or absence a sign of the oppression of tyrannical power.

He reviewed, in some detail and with becoming pride, the different departments of the State for which he and his appointees and elective associates were responsible. Education, banks, insurance, National Guard, prisons, and the charitable institutions were all dealt with, so

that the Legislature had an excellent opportunity to obtain all the information it needed. As in the previous year, he gave far more attention than any of his predecessors to the charitable work conducted by the State.

The first report of the Railroad Commission, appointed the year before, gave him an opportunity to review, at considerable length, the relation of the railroads to the people and to emphasize anew the policy already outlined and upon the adoption of which he had insisted.

In like manner, the Civil Service Reform Law, also enacted as the outcome of his recommendations, was pronounced to have begun its work well. He also dealt with the actual workings of the new laws, among them the prohibition of political assessments; the regulation of primary elections; the working of the Labor Bureau in the collection of information and statistics; conservation of the forests; revision of tax laws, dealing especially with the evasion of taxes; the regulation of cooperative insurance companies; reduction of the fees of receivers; the introduction of business principles into the construction of public buildings; and the establishment of a court of claims for the assertion of the right of citizens, even against the State itself, all of which were cited as accomplishments important enough to show that the interests of the State had not been neglected or overlooked.

For the first time he referred in a public document to national politics, citing with approval an extract from de Tocqueville's "Democracy in America" which showed, by contrast, the great decline in our shipping interests, and expressing the hope that the country might be permitted to anticipate the time when a care for the public needs and the application of remedies

would take the lead in the conduct of national affairs. He perhaps little suspected, only a few months before his nomination for President, how large a scope these words were to have within the next few years.

The legislative work was under better control by the Governor because of his experience during the preceding session. He was able to arrest trifling and impracticable bills and to veto many that were bad. Among other measures was one taking away from the Board of Aldermen of New York City the power to confirm appointments made by the Mayor. It contained many features of which the Governor did not approve, but he signed it without much hesitation and set forth, at length, his views as to its probable workings. By his insistence, other legislation relating to the city was recalled by the Legislature for amendment, and when this policy failed he used the veto without mercy. One bill that came before him he denounced in almost a savage way: "Of all the defective and shabby legislation which has been presented to me," he said, "this is the worst and the most inexcusable."

At the preceding election an amendment had been adopted directing the abolition of contract labor; but the Legislature, instead of dealing directly with the problem, authorized the appointment of a committee to investigate and report at a late day in the session. The Governor disapproved this bill, but, upon amendment, his objections were met, and it was passed. He insisted, however, that the State should keep faith with the prison contractors as well as with everybody else, and in his effort to procure this justice he sent in vigorous veto messages and memorandums.

The Niagara Falls Reservation was created, and as this was something of which he had a clear knowledge,

he promoted its enactment and tried to perfect it in every way it was legitimate and possible to do.

VIII

Toward the end of his second year as Governor his record had given him a strong position in the country at large. It became more and more clear to the Democrats that, if a hopeful effort was to be made in the following year, the support of the great body of independent voters in the States surrounding New York must be secured. This demand was increased by the distrust of the Republican candidate, so that these two influences again contributed to give unusual strength to the new political figure that had risen so suddenly. While the movement soon spread outside of New York, it was from that State that guidance was expected. So successfully was the latter given that, at the Democratic Convention held in Saratoga in June, 1884, for the selection of delegates for the National Convention, Mr. Cleveland's friends were able to control it and to choose an uninstructed delegation, bound by the unit rule, as had always been common in New York. Thus, the full vote of the State was cast for Mr. Cleveland, in face of bitter opposition from certain elements in New York City.

When the Convention met in Chicago on July 11, it was clear that Mr. Cleveland was the leading candidate, although the sentiment in his favor was not so marked as to assure nomination. This made good management necessary, and, as some of the New York delegation waged bitter opposition to the man for whom they had been instructed, it was essential that no points should be lost.

The Democratic National Convention of that year

was in many respects a remarkable body, being composed, for the first time since the Civil War, almost wholly of the younger men of the party who had been brought to the front under the dominance of the Tilden régime. On the third day of the convention, after many unsuccessful efforts to postpone nominations and the defeat of all obstructive tactics, the first ballot resulted as follows: Grover Cleveland of New York, 392; Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware, 170; Allen G. Thurman of Ohio, 98; Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania, 78; Joseph E. McDonald of Indiana, 56, with a small number distributed among several State favorites. An adjournment was had until the next day, when, upon the second ballot, 683 votes were cast for Cleveland, 81½ for Bayard, 45½ for Hendricks. As this number was more than the two-thirds necessary to nominate, Mr. Cleveland was declared the candidate for President, and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana was associated with him as Vice-President.

IX

In the campaign of 1884 a large number of Republicans, for years inclined to independence, carried this policy still further by opposing the candidate of their party, James G. Blaine. Their numbers were recruited by thousands of others not usually inclined to independence in political action. Thus it was evident, from the beginning, that, unless something unforeseen occurred, the Democratic candidate would command a large support from those generally inimical to his party. This opposition was so strong in all the States east of the Allegheny Mountains that it made its influence felt everywhere.

The campaign management on the part of the Democrats was unusually shrewd and far-seeing, while that of the other side was naturally much weakened by the dissensions within the party. Seldom have so many important speeches been made by so many men who counted for something as in the campaign of 1884. It seemed to have in it all the elements necessary to bring out the strongest and most effective men. Mr. Blaine, himself a practised orator, had always been the idol of his party, and there was to be found everywhere in his favor a personal enthusiasm which had never been surpassed in this country, except in the case of Henry Clay. On the other hand, the career and character of Mr. Cleveland represented so thoroughly the best instincts of the country that the campaign in his behalf produced a series of striking speeches by many able men new to political activity.

In addition to his letter of acceptance, Mr. Cleveland made only two communications to the people of the country, in the form of speeches, one at Newark, New Jersey, and the other at Bridgeport, Connecticut. Both were short and dealt with the question that had been the central point of his career and was to continue so during the remainder of his life. He insisted anew that "the people have a right to demand that no more money shall be taken from them, directly or indirectly, for public uses than is necessary for an honest and economical administration of public affairs."

The October election in Ohio, always considered a prophecy of the national result, was carried by the Republicans; but the old-time signs had lost their significance, and so at the election on Tuesday, November 4, Mr. Cleveland received the votes of 219 electors in twenty States, while Mr. Blaine had carried eighteen

States with 182 electors. Of the popular vote, the former had received 4,874,596 against 4,850,981 for the latter. In addition, something over 300,000 votes had been cast for the Prohibition and the Greenback candidates.

X

Two important questions engaged the attention of the President-elect between November and March 4. On December 25 he reassured the supporters of Civil Service Reform in a strong letter sent to George William Curtis, in which he set forth his ideas of the use of government office as party patronage. He insisted that no partizan considerations would cause any relaxation on his part of the earnest effort to enforce the law then new to the statute-books. He, however, emphasized the fact that a large number of men holding public places had forfeited all just claim to retention, because they had used the offices for party purposes. They had done this, he declared, "in disregard of their duty to the people and because, instead of being decent public servants, they have proved themselves offensive partizans and unscrupulous manipulators of local party management."

The other public question upon which he pronounced himself, between the election and the inauguration, was the Bland Silver Act. Only eight days before he took up his Presidential duties he wrote a letter setting forth the alarm felt by himself and conservative men everywhere about the dangers incident to the coinage of silver. He believed that it was desirable to maintain and continue in use the mass of gold coin, as well as that of the silver already coined, but that this policy

could only be carried out by a temporary suspension of the act. Without exaggerating the dangers of the situation, he recommended that compulsory coinage should be suspended, thus concurring in the recommendation of President Arthur's last annual message to Congress. This was his first specific utterance upon the silver problem and fixed his position upon a question which he was destined to settle along the lines of his convictions.

CHAPTER V

ORGANIZING THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS

I

In accordance with the custom of Presidents-elect, Mr. Cleveland went to Washington a few days before the 4th of March, 1885, the day fixed by law for the inauguration. He was received by President Arthur with distinguished courtesy. Everything was done that could possibly contribute to the comfort of the new occupant of the Executive Mansion, and, as a result of their brief association, a pleasant friendship was formed between them.

Few inaugural ceremonies have been marked with more of pageantry or have had in them greater genuine rejoicing on the part of the successful party, and, at the same time, more of genuine grief on the part of the defeated, than that which ushered Grover Cleveland into the Presidency. The day was in every way perfect, the first in the long list which finally grew to have the distinctive name of "Cleveland weather." An elaborate program had been planned, and the men assigned to the work of handling the crowds were expert in the management of great occasions. The military features—participated in by the army, the marines, the navy, and the artillery—were increased by detachments from the

militia of the several States, especially from Pennsylvania. The inauguration exercises were held at the east front of the Capitol under conditions which were never better for the full success of the ceremony.

II

Almost every President, from the earliest days, had read his inaugural address. But Mr. Cleveland made a departure when, rising before the great audience on that most beautiful of March days, he delivered his address with the calmness and coolness which might have marked the professional orator, and with a dignity and impressiveness soon recognized in every part of the country. His composure and self-confidence were the subject of remark, and many years later one of his bitterest personal and political enemies said that nothing like it had been seen in history—the spectacle of a man who, with but slight experience in the larger politics, had been elected to the Presidency in less than three years after he had been only an obscure citizen in a small town, and yet was able thus to stand before his countrymen to deliver his address without a manuscript or word of note before him.

Preparing every public utterance with the greatest care, not only as to word, phrase, and sentiment, but as to punctuation, he had the rare gift, with only the slightest effort, of so memorizing his own writings that he could deliver an address of an hour in length without loss or change of a word.

The address itself was pitched upon the lofty plane which had distinguished all his utterances. There was a widely prevailing fear that the change from a party

that had held uninterrupted power for twenty-four years, to one that had been excluded from responsibility during all this period, had in it some elements of danger; so the new President came to assure his countrymen that, although the executive branch was transferred to new keeping, it was "still the Government of all the people and should be none the less an object of their affectionate solicitude." He was thus able to reassure his countrymen, and he adjured them to renew their pledge of devotion to the Constitution which had "over almost a century borne the hopes and aspirations of a great people through prosperity and peace, and through the shock of foreign conflicts and the perils of domestic strife and vicissitudes."

He set forth, at some length, the duties of a Chief Magistrate to the people, and the people to their Government. He emphasized anew the ideas that had found expression in previous utterances, especially in his letters accepting nominations.

III

The members of the Cabinet had been chosen before he left Albany. Day after day and week after week he had asked prominent men in his party, as well as representatives of the independents who had come to his support, to visit him in Albany and discuss the names of the men who ought to be chosen as his official associates. He would not receive delegations. He dealt in each case with individuals, and was thereby enabled to procure the best and most unselfish advice. Coming into power as he did with a united party behind him, there were few jealousies to be allayed, and, tak-

ing everything into account, the pressure upon him for places in the Cabinet was really slight. He felt free, therefore, to give to each executive office the calm and careful consideration which its importance deserved.

He took with him to Washington, as his private secretary, the late Daniel S. Lamont. It would have been impossible to find a man better fitted for the delicate and important duties thus intrusted to him, and he was destined, within a short time, to fix a new standard for executive secretaries. For four years he went in and out before the American people, showing himself and proving his general acceptability, gaining the good will of all with whom he came into contact, and making a host of intimate friendships. So conspicuous was his success that he soon became more than a private secretary: he was a recognized part and parcel of the administration itself. Keen, calm, and self-collected, never saying more than he must, with a strong insight into men, he was not only an effective secretary, but always the close friend of his chief. This was well attested by his appointment, four years later, into Mr. Cleveland's second Cabinet as Secretary of War.

IV

Immediately after the Presidential election of 1884, some leading Democrats in New York concluded to ask the appointment into the Cabinet of a man who thoroughly understood the complicated conditions in that State. Judge Augustus Schoonmaker, of Ulster County, was the leader of this movement, and one day when he mentioned the matter to his friend, Alton B. Parker, then a young lawyer in the same county, the

latter said to him, "Well, why don't you head the movement in favor of the appointment of Daniel Manning as Postmaster-General?"—the office first suggested for him.

These gentlemen went at once to Albany to put the movement under way. They found enthusiasm among the leaders of the party, but absolute discouragement on the part of Mr. Manning himself. However, they persevered, and the next move was to enlist the help of the representative advocates of Civil Service Reform—Judge Schoonmaker being a member of the Commission, then a new body in the State. George William Curtis, John Jay, and other leaders in the movement cordially seconded the efforts of Messrs. Schoonmaker and Parker, and, upon their return to Albany, the organizers were able to report real progress, and that the appointment of Mr. Manning would be heartily welcomed. They were still discouraged by the refusal of Mr. Manning even to consider the matter.

When it was found that Mr. Manning was so set in his opposition to the movement in his own behalf, an informal meeting was called in Albany of members of the Democratic State Committee and of leading men of the State, who met at a public reception given by Governor Hill, who had just come into office. A committee waited upon Mr. Manning the next day, went over the whole matter with him fully, and insisted that, as for many years they had been doing whatever he wanted in every part of the State, it was now their turn and he must do something for them. In the meantime, Mr. Cleveland himself had become desirous that Mr. Manning should accept the Secretaryship of the Treasury—so that, with the united efforts of the President-elect, the party organization throughout the State, and

the friends of Mr. Manning, a still reluctant consent was wrung from him.

Nothing in his first administration was more satisfactory to Mr. Cleveland than the results of this appointment. From its opening days the Treasury Department was in the hands of a conservative, practical man who knew well how to handle the difficult questions incident to the awful crush for patronage. But this was not all: The great policies inherent in finance and taxation, the more vital problems involved in the coinage issue, all found intelligent study and were carefully set forth both for the consideration of the President and the information and the instruction of the public. Mr. Manning's first report as Secretary was often cited by his chief as having furnished the key to the policies afterward enunciated on the tariff, and so successfully carried out in dealing with currency and coinage problems.

Mr. Cleveland took the step, until then almost unprecedented, of nominating two members of his original Cabinet from his own State, whose dominance in the politics of the Union and especially in his own party had increased rather than diminished. The other member chosen from New York was William C. Whitney, who was made Secretary of the Navy. None of his selections more fully justified itself than this one, and it soon became obvious that no man who had ever occupied that office had shown greater practical or executive ability. He was especially fitted to begin successfully the reconstruction of the navy on modern lines.

V

Taking into account the condition of his own party in the Senate, Mr. Cleveland assumed a great risk in draw-

ing three men from that body. This was especially true of Thomas F. Bayard, and I have recorded fully in this volume the opinions of each other held by these two men thus brought into close association.

Augustus H. Garland came to the front after the war, as Governor of the State of Arkansas, from which he passed into the Senate. Perhaps in no State had plunder run riot with less fear of punishment than had been the case in Arkansas. It was, however, practically the first in the South to regain full control of its own affairs, a success which was due to the wisdom and the ability of Mr. Garland, who, as its first Democratic Governor, grappled so successfully with the serious conditions there that he not only redeemed his own State, but set an example that other States were quick to follow.

The other man transferred from the Senate to the Cabinet, as Secretary of the Interior, was L. Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi, who had borne a leading and honorable part in the ill-starred effort to establish the Confederacy, and had been sent back to the lower house of Congress the moment his people had regained control of their State. He bore himself with quiet dignity, taking little part in discussion until, in 1875, after the death of Charles Sumner, he delivered, in the House of Representatives, a eulogy which at once carried him to the front as an orator and stamped him as a man of large mind and distinguished ability. The transition to the Senate was natural and easy, and there he soon showed his independence by refusing to follow the instructions adopted by the Legislature of his State in favor of the greenback and silver heresies. In every place he proved himself a patriotic public servant, a man of deep sentiment and of poetic instincts. Few men came closer to Mr. Cleveland, personally, than did Mr. Lamar,

and it was with satisfaction that, in the face of many difficulties, he appointed him as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States only a year before the expiration of his first term as President.

VI

For Postmaster-General, Mr. Cleveland chose William F. Vilas of Wisconsin. He was a young lawyer engaged in the practice of his profession in Madison, Wisconsin, and little known outside his own State until, at a banquet given in Chicago to General Grant after his return from his famous tour around the world, the new Postmaster-General had sprung at once to the front as a finished orator. In 1884, he had presided over the National Convention which nominated Mr. Cleveland. A lawyer in successful practice, with whom politics was merely an incident, he proved himself capable of close and continuous attention to the detail work of the office intrusted to him. In 1888, when Mr. Lamar was appointed Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. Vilas was transferred to the head of the Department of the Interior.

William C. Endicott of Massachusetts, who had made a creditable record on the bench and as the candidate of his party for Governor of that State, became Secretary of War, and, though without experience in executive office, he met the modest demands then made upon this official, creditably to himself, to his administration, and to the country.

VII

The same care was used when dealing with the less dignified offices under the President's gift. He looked

upon the assistants to the various heads of the departments as scarcely less important than their principals, and many men thus brought to the front in subordinate places soon commanded the confidence of the country, and many of them were destined to fill important places in the Federal Government and in their own States.

Heads of commissions and bureaus, postmasters of the principal cities, customs officials, were all chosen with special reference to fitness. While Mr. Cleveland did not interfere with the functions of his Cabinet, all appointments for these places were made in consultation with them. He felt a stronger sense of responsibility in such cases than most men. With him, it was an absolute necessity of the situation because of the long exclusion from power of his party. He foresaw hostile attacks upon himself and the administration in case he should fill important places with the usual political candidates, and determined to avoid this. In the diplomatic service, which, during the administration of President Arthur, had been growing better as to the ability and character of its members, this tendency was accentuated under the administration of his successor.

Mr. Cleveland used to say that whenever he felt bound to concede something to the demands of political managers, as he did in some States, the result was generally unsatisfactory to himself, or the party, or the service, and he never hesitated to dismiss an unfit appointee of his own with even greater promptness than one belonging to the rival party. He had determined to maintain the highest possible standard, and nothing could turn him from his purpose.

I have taken occasion elsewhere in this volume to treat

more fully of the type of men with whom he surrounded himself all along the line of official life. They soon produced a real Cleveland Democracy which was to show its efficiency in later political contests, especially in the assertion of principle above partizanship.

CHAPTER VI

THE WORK OF ADMINISTRATION

I

I SHALL make no attempt to write a chronological review of the administration from 1885 to 1889. It will be more satisfactory to treat it topically. I am not attempting to write a complete biography, and am thus freed from the tyranny of details. I hope, however, that a brief sketch on the lines indicated will furnish an idea of the principles upon which the administration was conducted and of the success achieved.

While assuming his own responsibility for the acts of his administration, Mr. Cleveland was not one to treat the members of his Cabinet as mere clerks. He left them as free as officials can be when one man must bear the brunt of the work as well as the blame. He had surrounded himself with men who did not need to be coached in order to comprehend and interpret the general principles of government which they all represented. They were free—developed their own plans and policies—and while he kept in close touch with everything that went on under his own administration, all worked together for a common object.

II

FEW foreign complications arose, and these would not perhaps be deemed so vital and important as those under consideration at the present time. In accordance with the traditions of the country—from which, up to that time, there had been no departure—no attempt was made to exploit a foreign policy. Nobody was able to use the Department of State to collect money from friendly, though small, governments, or to settle the affairs of litigants or adventurers with little regard to the justice of their claims. Some of the latter, found in the files of the Department of State when Mr. Bayard took charge, were curtly dismissed.

Demands for the protection of American citizens came from Mexico, England, and Turkey. A somewhat ridiculous person named Cutting was arrested for acts committed in this country toward Mexico, a friendly government, and was brought up for trial in the latter country. A protest from the department, really made against its will because of the character of the applicant, was effective, and the offender was released from custody.

Some disagreeable complications were raised by naturalized American citizens of Irish birth, who had been tried under English laws. Their cases were carefully considered, and friendly representations made to the Government of Great Britain that their release would be agreeable to this country. It appeared, however, that the prisoners had not claimed protection at the time of arraignment and trial, so their belated claim was not recognized. This produced more or less misrepresenta-

tion and excitement, as was common in the old days, when twisting the lion's tail was an accepted form of American sport, but these soon passed away, and the incidents took their place with a type then well known.

A comprehensive treaty with China was negotiated, under which the latter Government agreed to meet the views of the United States on the prevention of further immigration into this country of Chinese laborers. This was the cause of a difference with the Senate, which, desiring to gain partizan advantage, had inserted insignificant amendments which the Emperor of China refused to ratify or accept. When these friendly efforts failed, more severe laws of exclusion were passed.

An unusual complication arose with Austria in 1885, growing out of the sending to that country, as Minister, of a Virginian by the name of Kieley. It developed that, at a public meeting held in 1870, he had made a violent speech against Victor Emmanuel, so that, when accredited to Italy, that Government refused to receive him. The new complication arose upon an attempt to provide for him in Austria. He had married a woman of Jewish birth, and as the anti-Semitic agitation was then at its worst in all German-speaking countries, the Austrian Government made his withdrawal from Rome a pretext for refusing to receive him in Vienna. No other reasons being available, the fact that his wife belonged to the race then persecuted was alleged. The Austrian Minister represented to the Secretary of State and the President that no Jewess could be received in social circles in Vienna, so that her husband could not be *persona grata* in that court. In rebuke to the bigotry which suggested such a course, Mr. Bayard announced that the United States would never recognize such tests, and his despatch in the defense of American toleration

and in condemnation of race prejudice has seldom been excelled in our diplomatic correspondence for careful writing, sound views, and loftiness of thought. The President, in his first annual message, also took the same line and added a spirited rebuke to the action of Austria.

In 1886, Mr. Phelps, Minister to England, concluded a treaty providing for the extradition of criminals who should escape from the jurisdiction of one country into that of another. When the treaty came from the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, it contained certain offensive words about the use of explosives and was generally resented. Considerable excitement arose from the incident, and the charge was made that the original document had contained this language; but not until after the election of 1888 was the discovery made that the offending words had been inserted by the committee itself.

An earnest effort was made to settle the fisheries difficulties by treaty, but the contest with the Senate was too violent to permit that body to accept anything which would serve to give the new Democratic administration credit in the country.

III

When Mr. Manning took charge of the Treasury Department on March 6, 1885, he found two great and threatening perils. Most of the debt then due had been paid. As revenue laws which collected a surplus were in effect, nearly a hundred million dollars beyond the demands of legitimate expenditures were drawn yearly from the people. In like manner, all attempts to get silver into circulation had failed, so that it was heaped

up in the vaults of the Treasury, where it was idle and useless.

It was impossible to procure from Congress laws reducing the revenues, so that, early in 1887, the continued drain of money from the people and the opposite policy of locking up the newly coined silver together constituted a serious menace to business interests. The Secretary of the Treasury, Charles S. Fairchild, who had succeeded Mr. Manning upon his retirement because of ill health, determined that, instead of distributing over the whole fiscal year bond purchases from the sinking fund, he would invest, as rapidly as possible, and at once, the entire amount available. Nearly twenty-eight million dollars were at once invested in the bonds of the Government. The new policy was successful, and, as the threatened danger was averted, it was pursued in the succeeding year, many of the bonds being bought direct from owners instead of through banks or syndicates. These various devices made large savings in interest.

Their effect, however, was temporary, and, that the surplus might not be hoarded in the Treasury, a decision was reached to increase the deposits in the national banks. This policy was so encouraging that these deposits were almost quintupled in a single year, and nearly three times as many banks participated in the distribution of Treasury funds. The money was distributed fairly, with no favoritism and without relation to the politics of the managers of the financial institutions involved. It thus found its way into every part of the country and did much to promote healthful business development. The silver question was so dealt with that the dangers to business were reduced to a minimum. This was effected, in a large measure, by the withdrawal

of the small denominations of Treasury notes and the issue in their stead of silver certificates.

The reduction of the public debt went steadily forward, the yearly amount being increased considerably over the average of the previous administration. In like manner, there was a constant and wholesome decline in the cost of collecting revenue. In 1885 the average was 3.77 per cent., and this was reduced until, in 1888, it was only 3.20. These reductions were made possible by eliminating useless offices and the adoption of business methods.

In like manner, unnecessary expenditures were cut off, and the increase in the number of employees did not keep pace with the growth of business. At the same time, careful plans were worked out by both Mr. Manning and Mr. Fairchild, insuring efficiency in the routine work of the department. Exorbitant allowances and salaries were reduced, unnecessary bureaus abolished or consolidated, and the department conducted with much economy.

IV

One policy to which Mr. Cleveland early devoted his attention was the reconstruction of the navy. Between the time of the election and the inauguration, an effort was made, with small success, to interest Mr. Cleveland in the scheme for coast fortifications, and his attitude upon this question doubtless confirmed his determination to reconstruct the navy on large, comprehensive lines.

It is, indeed, an oft-told tale, that of the degradation of the United States Navy during the period between 1865 and 1885. In his first annual report as Secretary

of the Navy, in December of the latter year, William C. Whitney said:

> The country has expended since July 1, 1868, over seventy-five millions of money on the construction, repair, equipment, and ordnance of vessels, which sum, with a very slight exception, has been substantially thrown away, the exception being a few ships now in process of construction. . . . For about seventy of the seventy-five millions expended by the department for the creation of a navy, we have nothing to show.

When Mr. Whitney took charge of the department in March, 1885, the United States did not have a war-vessel which could have kept the seas for a week, while the country was dependent upon foreign manufacturers for gun forgings, armor, and secondary batteries. The President and his Naval Secretary determined to encourage the home manufacture of armor. In order to promote this object, the policy was adopted in 1886 of consolidating into a single contract all the armor authorized by Congress. Bidders were allowed the time necessary to erect the buildings, machinery, and plant for making and handling this new product, with the effect that, two years later, a contract was entered into with the Bethlehem Iron Company providing for the production of armor and gun steel. From that time, the Government of the United States has been in an independent position, able to construct vessels built entirely from material, labor, and capital drawn from its own people.

It was not alone in the building of new vessels and the adoption of new methods that an advance was made. The management of the department in all its details was revolutionized. This was reached by the reorganization of bureaus and the choice of efficient and honest men. The purchase of supplies was consolidated

under a responsible chief, so that, instead of more than fifty per cent. of the supplies being purchased in the open market, as under the old policy, the proportion declined until, at the close of the Cleveland administration, it had been reduced to less than eleven per cent. These improvements, even with new vessels built and others under way, and provision made for armor and guns, had enabled the cost of the department to be reduced.

In devising and carrying out these policies, Mr. Cleveland was powerfully assisted by his Secretary of the Navy. Perhaps no more fortunate choice was ever made for the head of a department in a period of emergency. With commanding abilities, a careful training as a lawyer, an expert knowledge of politics and of men, and strongly devoted to whatever he undertook, he was able from the beginning to command Mr. Cleveland's hearty support. He thus had an unusually free hand not only in the initiation of policies, but in routine management. He began at once to eliminate abuses, but his principal work was positive: the building of a new navy on the very best lines then known.

How fully he commanded Mr. Cleveland's support was always shown by the latter's uniform recognition of his abilities and devotion. He often repeated the opinion that he had never known a man with Mr. Whitney's capacity for work. He was not a man to use his powers in the plodding way that distinguished his chief, but the latter always insisted that, of all the men he had ever known, there was none with such a gift for concentrating attention upon any large matter upon which he might be engaged at a given time. He told me that there would sometimes be weeks in which, to outward appearances, Mr. Whitney would seem to be dawdling—although in fact this was not the case. The President,

with his steady methods, would have the feeling that when a policy requiring the closest attention of the ordinary man for many weeks was to be executed, everybody ought to be working to his full bent.

Even then the Secretary would delay the task intrusted to him. But, in good and sufficient time, before a decision must be reached, he would put everything else aside and throw himself into his task. "I always knew," Mr. Cleveland remarked, "that, when he did this, he could accomplish more in one day than any other man that I ever saw could do in ten. Every power of his mind would be concentrated upon the present duty. Social life, personal business—all were sacrificed, so that he would be fully ready. I have never known anything approaching this power of absorption, and I say this in spite of the fact that I have always been thrown into contact with lawyers who, in dealing with important cases, have developed this capacity in a striking way."

Illustration of Mr. Whitney's power of concentration is afforded by an anecdote which used to be told in Washington to the effect that, after the policy of naval construction had been adopted, it became plain that the head of one of the principal bureaus had no conception of the responsibility incumbent upon him. As he held office for a fixed term, there was no way under the law to get rid of him, so Mr. Whitney conceived the idea that he must convince the man of his own incompetence. Having reached this conclusion, he took up the study of modern naval construction, and mastered the details of every new vessel then in existence, including plans, structure, armor, machinery, power, and operation.

This done, he sent for the official and began to cross-examine him about the conditions with which he would be called to deal. Each new question showed the Sec-

retary's knowledge, and each answer revealed the other man's ignorance. This process was continued mercilessly until, when Mr. Whitney finally asked an opinion on certain features of a new British vessel named, the other broke down, owned his incapacity, and tendered his resignation.

It was through this devotion to his duties, this unprecedented ability for details, that Mr. Whitney was able, in this case as in others, to clear obstacles from his path and to become the real creator of our new navy.

V

Even in the War Department, which presented few opportunities to make a show or even to display large executive ability, a good deal of work was well done. Early in the administration, upon the initiative of the President, a determination was reached to break up the favoritism which had for so long made that department a nest of petty intrigue, through which officers were accustomed to obtain assignments to soft places. Under the new régime, these were sent back to their regiments.

By reason of the growth of the Western Territories and the success of the peaceful policy so consistently carried out by Mr. Cleveland and his predecessor, there was little Indian fighting for the regular army. Its condition and discipline were, however, constantly improved because it was conducted on business principles. There is no doubt that the system, then established, of increasing the discipline of the force had a decided influence in the war that came, greatly to Mr. Cleveland's regret, after his final retirement from office.

VI

THE Department of Justice was conducted with little noise or bluster, but with efficiency. In addition to the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, the late George A. Jenks of Pennsylvania—upon whom most of the work devolved—achieved a large degree of success both in the courts and in executive management. The President, being a lawyer of wide training and recognized position, conscientiously devoted to his profession, gave much more attention than was usual with an executive to all questions of a legal character. This was made imperative by the fact that Congress had then recently enacted many laws imposing additional work upon this department, so that the number of criminal prosecutions was increased by about one third over a like period in the preceding administration. This was also done at a small expense considering the increased work. The laws were strictly enforced, and no serious scandal attached itself to any of the principal officers of the Department of Justice.

Upon the death of Chief Justice Waite, the President appointed as his successor Melville W. Fuller, one of the leaders of his profession in the West. His success has fully justified Mr. Cleveland's confidence. In like manner, L. Q. C. Lamar, then Secretary of the Interior, was appointed an Associate Justice. One circuit judge and eleven district judges were chosen, and as the President always gave greater attention to appointments dealing with the machinery of the law than to any other department of like size, the far-reaching effects of his policy have been fully justified by the experience of a quarter of a century.

VII

When Mr. Cleveland came into power the Post-Office was growing with great rapidity. It had already become an immense establishment demanding high administrative talent if it was to keep itself in touch with the growth of the country. In 1883 the letter-postage rate was reduced from three cents to two, and the weight limit raised from half an ounce to an ounce. During that and the following years marked reductions were made in the rates on matter of the second class—newspapers and periodicals sent direct from the office of publication—and further concessions had been granted in other classes of mail, both as to rate and conditions. Probably as the result of these, as well as from the growth of the country and from the increase in the weight to be carried, the work of transporting and handling them had grown at an unprecedented rate. The business methods upon which Mr. Cleveland always insisted made it possible to conduct this augmented service without any greatly increased expenditure. Despite the new privileges allowed by law, each dollar in receipts by the Post-Office Department cost only $1.06 in 1888 against $1.17 in 1885.

A decided saving in mail transportation was effected —made possible by economies in star route, steamboat, and railroad charges, by a readjustment of the pay of land-grant roads and the adoption of business methods in the purchase of equipment. These improvements were accompanied by more mail-trains of greater speed; new parcels post contracts were concluded with Mexico and other American countries; the free delivery service was enlarged; the money-order system was ex-

tended to new classes of offices, and improved methods were devised all along the line. No scandals were developed, and the serious abuses that had grown up in the service in previous years were eliminated.

VIII

The Interior Department had long been a sort of omnium-gatherum for out-of-the-way public government work for which no other place seemed to have been provided. This made it perhaps the most difficult department in the Government, and it was very fortunate that it fell into the hands of a man of such a keen and unremitting industry and capacity for detail as William F. Vilas.

For years there had been a growing demand that the small area of public lands then remaining should be conserved for actual settlers. In spite of the fact, few steps had been taken to wrest from the land-grant roads great areas which, though granted, had not been earned. When the new administration came into office it found tracts of this kind amounting to millions of acres tied up with claims by railroads, and still others used as pastures for the herds and flocks of ranchmen—illegally surrounded by fences. Such energy was shown in eliminating the latter abuse that at the end of the second year steps had been taken which finally led to the correction of the evil.

In like manner, areas aggregating something more than a hundred million acres were restored to settlement. In this work the President himself showed the deepest interest. In his first annual message he reviewed the origin of the public domain, and emphasized

anew the fact that the lands were originally granted by the States and that they were "encumbered with no condition except that they should be held and used 'for the benefit of the United States.'" He insisted that the other lands acquired by purchase were subject to the same conditions, and expressed the opinion that "the policy of many homes rather than large estates was adopted by the Government" in the execution of this trust. The whole policy was well summed up in the following extract from the message just quoted:

> It is not for the benefit of the United States that a large area of public land should be acquired, directly or through fraud, in the hands of a single individual. The nation's strength is in the people; the nation's prosperity is in their prosperity; the nation's glory is in the equality of her justice; the nation's perpetuity is in the patriotism of all her people. Hence, as far as practicable, the plan adopted in the disposal of the public lands should have in view the original policy, which encouraged many purchasers of these lands for homes and discouraged the massing of large areas.

In no question that came before him did the President show himself more deeply interested or more courageous than in the dealings of the Government with its Indian wards. Believing in fair and kind but firm treatment and in the use of civilizing influences, he studied the question attentively from the earliest days of his administration. He chose his agents in every line of this work with perhaps more care, if possible, than that bestowed upon any other department. He and the Secretary of the Interior worked faithfully to abolish favoritism in appointments, and, among other abuses, nepotism was strictly forbidden.

This, like every other work, was done at a diminished

cost. It was a natural result of a policy in which honesty and business principles were consistently and firmly applied to the management of Indian affairs. The improvement in this branch of the public service, as in that of many others, dated from the first Cleveland administration.

An illuminating chapter in Mr. Cleveland's published "Writings and Speeches" is that which presents in connected form his views on the Indian question. Whenever he found that misapprehensions existed as to the policy of the department, he made it his business to write letters explaining it, thus not only showing his interest in the subject and the knowledge he had gained of it, but setting forth the principles upon which he had conducted this branch of the public business. So well satisfied was he with his work that, in his fourth annual message in December, 1888, he could declare that "proofs multiply that the transforming change, so much to be desired, which shall substitute for barbarism education and civilizing sentiment, is in favorable progress."

IX

THE Department of Agriculture had long been a bureau which evoked a smile when mentioned. As Mr. Cleveland, from early association, as well as from lifelong experience, had been interested in farming, he chose as Commissioner Norman J. Colman of Missouri, who was peculiarly fitted for the duties intrusted to him. He was a practical farmer and, in addition, had for many years conducted one of the most successful newspapers devoted to the agricultural interest.

He began by forming and cementing close, systematic

relations between his department and the agricultural colleges and experiment stations endowed and maintained by Congress. This was effected by a conference between himself and his staff and the leading men connected with these institutions. A policy was then mapped out which had, for its general purpose, work on some system, the prevention of duplication, the exchange of results, and the establishment of additional stations. He began and carried out a careful investigation of adulterations and imitations—a policy which has had ample results in laws since enacted. In like manner, he took vigorous measures to stamp out the contagious diseases of cattle, and conducted various experiments which have promoted a great increase in the production of raw sugar.

X

It does not fall within the purview of this sketch to deal with all the policies of the first administration. Mention may be made, however, of the contest with the Senate over the Tenure of Office Act, which, the President insisted, had fallen into "innocuous desuetude." This message is among the most vigorous of his public utterances. In it he met the Senate upon its own ground, setting forth distinctly the questions at issue between the Executive and that body, and positively refusing to comply with the demand for the surrender of letters or documents of a private nature. After the receipt of the message, the discovery was made that public sentiment was strongly with the President, and the contest ended with complete success, so that he was no longer hampered in the matter of appointments. Mr.

Cleveland dealt very fully with this question in one of his lectures at Princeton University, published in his book on "Presidential Problems."[1] It well deserves study by those interested in the large questions of government. It is an interesting fact that a successor, William H. Taft, in his commemorative address (March 18, 1909), pronounced this one of the most important of the services rendered to the country by Mr. Cleveland.

Few acts of the first administration attracted wider attention than Mr. Cleveland's attitude upon military pensions. From the beginning he insisted that the pension list should be made and kept "a roll of honor." Assurance of merit on the part of the beneficiary, and not the liberality of the Government, which, because it could collect the money, might be lavish, was with him the test. Consequently, he vetoed private pension bills to the number of more than two hundred and fifty, insisting, over and over again, that pensions should only be granted under general laws. This would discourage favoritism and so fix the position of the soldier that he could command a pension as a right to himself and not as a favor.

He vetoed the Dependent Pension Bill because, in his view, it made many of the proposed beneficiaries objects of charity. While recognizing to the fullest extent the gratitude due to the soldiers of the Union and manifesting a desire, at every turn, to promote their interests, he endeavored to protect them from themselves as well as from their enemies. He saw that the pension system had become full of abuses, and recognized, what has been since admitted, that the bounty of the Government had been paid to men who did not deserve

[1] Presidential Problems, by Grover Cleveland. New York, the Century Company, 1904.

or need it. He further insisted that the demand for additional pension legislation—more than a quarter of a century after the close of the Civil War—was largely artificial, and that it was promoted by a systematic agitation on the part of organizations of pension agents and attorneys.

In another chapter I have treated at some length Mr. Cleveland's attitude toward Civil Service Reform. He came into office under difficult conditions. For a quarter of a century the public service had been under the merciless application of the spoils system. None but members of the majority party had had a chance to obtain important employment in the public service. It was requisite to the success of the law, passed in 1882, that it should have friendly but prudent administration.

When he entered office in 1885, he found that less than fourteen thousand employees had passed under the protection of the rules, of whom perhaps no more than ten per cent. had been chosen under the new law or as the result of recognized merit. When he left office at the end of four years more than twenty-seven thousand persons were included in the classified service. He carried on this work with such consistency that history, when finally written, must accord him the credit of giving the system a fair trial. He extended its operations into many new departments and afforded an opportunity to many men then excluded from the public service.

No act of Mr. Cleveland's first administration was more popular than his marriage on June 2, 1886, to Miss Frances Folsom of Buffalo. He thus introduced into social life a woman who, though young, has never made a mistake in her dealings with her countrymen. Attractive in character as in person, domestic in her tastes, devoted to her home, she has shown at every step the

highest capabilities of American womanhood. No public man in all our history ever had a happier domestic life than that which Mr. Cleveland enjoyed as the result of this marriage. Both in and out of office they lived plainly and simply, going about their own concerns so far as public duties would permit, and free from any tendency to display or ostentation.

XI

During the years 1886 and 1887 the President made a considerable tour of the country. Taking a well-appointed train and accompanied by his wife and secretary and a few friends, they started West, making Indianapolis their first stop. They were greeted always in the most cordial way. The same scenes were witnessed, as to hospitality and enthusiasm, in Chicago, Milwaukee, Madison, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Omaha, St. Louis, Memphis, Nashville, Chattanooga, Atlanta, and Montgomery, from which city they returned home. He was met everywhere by delegations and, when time permitted, he generally made a short, apt speech, and gave popular receptions to which all who desired might come.

Until he reached Montgomery, Alabama, his last stop, he sedulously avoided politics or public questions. As he saw in the South signs of a restored Union and recognized, in a more emphatic way than had been possible earlier, that sectionalism was no longer a force, he felt free to advert to the value of profitable business relations and to express his opinion that in no part of the country would the people willingly permit these to be destroyed or endangered by designing demagogues. He condemned, in unsparing terms, the wickedness of those

partizans who seek to aid their ambitious schemes by engendering hate among a generous people.

The President's bearing on this extended journey, the ease and dignity with which he met his countrymen, his interest in local development, and the impressions gathered of a restored and united country, increased his own familiarity with the needs of the country, promoted his popularity, and helped to complete the harmony of the sections so long divided, first by civil war, and, later, as the result of misgovernment and the acts of interested partizans.

He was a conspicuous figure at the centennial of the adoption of the Constitution in Philadelphia in September, 1887, making three speeches in his one day's visit there. At all times he showed much interest in the universal evidence of industrial progress.

Mr. Cleveland made speeches on many questions during his term of office, more indeed than many of his predecessors. These speeches dealt with a variety of subjects and with nearly all the elements in our population. They were always serious, short, pointed, and bright, evincing an intimate knowledge of the questions discussed and a willingness to aid every good cause. Naturally averse to speech-making and to show, no man could have submitted with better grace to the ordeal.

XII

Reference has already been made to the burdens which the revenue laws imposed upon business by exacting great sums beyond the needs of the Government. From the earliest days of the administration and even from those of President Arthur, these were recognized as

serious menaces to prosperity. In his first annual message the President announced this fact and urged the necessity of revising the tariff laws downward. His reference was brief, not because of a lack of interest in the question, which later he was to force so decisively to the front, but because other issues seemed to him dominant.

In his annual message of 1886 he gave still greater attention to the tariff, and nothing that he wrote upon it was stronger or more pertinent, or better showed his knowledge of the question, or set forth his conception of the dangers incident to the perpetuation of war taxes in times of peace.

During the spring and summer of 1887, the surplus in the Treasury became a menace to the prosperity and stability of the country, and he felt that the time had come when a way of escape must be provided. Throughout this period he and the Secretary of the Treasury were in daily dread of commercial disaster, so that they were compelled to consider, with even more care than before, the ways and means necessary for removing the causes. The conclusion was reached that the only way was to reduce the exorbitant taxes which had produced this plethora.

He, therefore, determined to devote the whole of his annual message of 1887 to the discussion of the tariff question. He always insisted that only in this way could the attention of the country be drawn to existing evils and the necessity for a change be enforced. He showed a clear knowledge of the question, and the courage which prompted his message, and the patriotism revealed in every line, appealed to the imagination of the country with a power seldom surpassed by a Presidential message.

It would be difficult to overestimate its effect. It at once lifted politics out of the ruts into which it had fallen and gave the country something real to think about. From that time forward, fiscal questions had a standing and could more easily command public interest. It was no longer complained that a speech on the tariff was dull or that an exposition of the financial condition of the country was necessarily stupid. It is probable that no document of the same length ever had had so wide a reading. It made no pretense of revealing something new, but it massed the then existing facts, showed the courage of his opinion, and his conviction of the peril into which the country had been drawn by adherence to a dangerous policy. Far beyond these, and more important than any other consideration, it showed that the writer was willing to stake his political fortunes upon the enunciation of this policy.

Mr. Cleveland referred often to the criticism that he had delayed this message. In reply he insisted that if he had announced this policy earlier the country would not have been prepared for it. When it came it was really timely, because needed, and he was wholly clear of the charge that he was trying to create unnecessary alarm. While conditions were bad enough in 1885 and 1886, there was little to indicate that the finances of the country were suffering from a single abuse and no more. He said that he had been so engaged in readjusting the executive departments of the Government that he was compelled to gain the confidence of the country before announcing a great and overmastering policy.

When the defeat of 1888 came he was not surprised. When preparing his last annual message for the meeting of Congress in December, 1888, he sent for the Speaker of the House, Mr. Carlisle. to consult with him

concerning his attitude upon the tariff question. Mr. Carlisle told me, in 1890, that in opening the conversation the President said by way of preface:

> I have asked you to call and see me, Mr. Speaker, in order that I may get your views about that portion of my message which deals with the tariff question. You know that I have always been willing and anxious to consult the wishes of the leaders of my party on every public question; that I have tried to show that deference to their desires that their position demanded, and so far as it was consonant with the interest of the country, but I want to tell you now that if every other man in the country abandons this issue I shall stick to it.

The policy announced in 1887 and newly emphasized in 1888 was to find partial vindication in the Congressional elections of 1890 and full fruition, so far as party initiative was involved, in the Presidential campaign of 1892.

The administration, the history of which has been so briefly outlined that I have touched only upon the salient features distinctive of the man, was clean, vigorous, devoted to the rights and interests of the people, and devoid of appeals to prejudice or partizanship. It maintained at their best the century-old traditions of our institutions and Government, and in dignity, earnestness, and character was an example for coming generations.

CHAPTER VII

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1888

I

A FEW days before the Fourth of July, 1888, I received, at my home in New York, a telegram from Colonel Daniel S. Lamont, private secretary to the President, asking me to report to him at the Executive Mansion in Washington on the following day, to take up the work of preparing the Campaign Text-Book of the Democratic Party. On hand at the time fixed, I found that the secretary's idea was vague; but it was arranged that I should go back to New York, make my plans, and return to Washington on the following Monday, ready to take up my task. He was to procure convenient offices in the town, and to arrange for the assistants, secretaries, and clerical staff. Early in the day fixed, I reported for duty, and asked for information about the office which I was to occupy during the next few weeks. "Oh, I have not been able," he said, "to get one convenient to the Executive Mansion and so have concluded to have you work here."

Thereupon I was assigned to the large and convenient bedroom over the portico, from whose window I could look out upon the busy scenes which, in those days, were far more interesting than now, when the

President, so far as his daily tasks are concerned, has become the head of a government department or a keen business man, surrounded by all the paraphernalia of trade. The unique surroundings were interesting, but all my dreams about assistants and staff were dissipated. One man might be intrusted with the most delicate of party tasks and execute it next door to the workroom of the President of the United States, but this could not include the miscellaneous collection of persons who must enter into the make-up of a staff. Hence I took up alone the allotted task, and carried it through without the aid of so much as a copyist, or even of a stenographer to conduct the most formal of correspondence.

II

The scheme, as submitted to Colonel Lamont and approved, involved the presentation—as completely as the time available permitted—of the history of the administration then near its close and of the personality, then little understood, that lay behind it. The compilation was to be completed by the first of September, the proofs read, and the book ready for distribution. It was necessary to compile a complete history of every department and independent bureau or division in order to show what it had done and wherein it had adopted improved methods and so corrected abuses. In doing this, it was necessary to see every head of a department, or of bureaus and divisions like the Pensions, the Public Printing, and others which were carrying out, independently, policies which fitted into the general scheme of administration.

I had already a personal acquaintance with the head of every department except the navy and with many independent officials. Elaborate credentials were not necessary. When needed, they were furnished by the following note, without date, written in pencil on a small, narrow envelop:

Executive Mansion.

I hope it will be possible to see Mr. Parker for one moment as early as possible.

D. S. Lamont.

Wherever duty might call me, and I was myself unknown, this was an *open sesame*. I had only to explain what was wanted, to give directions, and the gathering of the necessary information was put under way. Within a week probably a hundred men were devoting their mornings and nights to the work in hand. These had to be visited from time to time in order to give new instructions, to oversee the work, to suggest revision or addition to matter as it was submitted, to hurry up the laggard or the neglectful—in fact, to supervise by day the execution of the whole scheme, and then at night to edit the resulting material into system and coherence. With all, it soon became necessary to meet the daily demands of the printer in Baltimore.

III

My acquaintance with members of Congress, in both Houses, was nothing like so comprehensive as it was in the executive departments: however, as it was necessary to obtain information in that quarter, my authority was derived from the following open note, also undated and written on a card, to the distinguished

statesman then Chairman of the Naval Committee of the House, later Secretary of the Navy:

Navy Department,
Washington.

To Hon. H. A. Herbert,
No. 1 B Street, N. W.

Introducing Mr. Parker upon confidential business.

W. C. WHITNEY.

This served in both Houses of Congress as its predecessor had done in department, bureau, and division.

IV

IT may well be believed that this work demanded both devotion and industry. Through those hot weeks of July and August it went forward at varying rates of speed, all of them too slow for personal satisfaction, until Colonel Lamont, to whom I reported progress—late at night, perhaps twice a week—feared lest he had put too much upon me, or had been remiss in not giving me more help. I saw the end from the beginning, recognizing that it was merely a matter of perseverance and patience, and that, with these, I should meet the demands upon me.

I could not have had a better exemplar of these qualities than that in the room next mine immediately across the hall. I soon found myself leaving for my lodgings in the town at about one o'clock in the morning—always with an unfinished task.

Gasping for air, in an oppressive atmosphere, when I would step into the hall, during the hours around midnight, in the hope, generally futile, of catching some stray breath of air, it so happened once that, as I looked

across the hall to the half-open door turned toward mine, I saw, reflected upon its polished surface, the hand of a man busily writing.

I knew that this door opened into the workroom of Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, whom I had not seen since taking up my hard task inside his official residence. So the habit was formed, when I went early to my daily task, of asking the watchman at what hour the President had knocked off the preceding night. I found that it was generally about three o'clock in the morning; now and then, when he had finished some severe task that he had set himself, he would stop at two o'clock. My only personal knowledge, of course, was, in general, up to one o'clock. I did keep at it, once or twice, until two, in the hope that I might rival the man next door, of whose greediness for work I had heard and of which I now had abundant knowledge. But as the necessity for rest was strong, I gave up the competition and kept my own hours and not those of another.

V

I COULD but wonder what it was that a man holding the dignified office of President was doing at such hours of the night after he had given a full day to the duties incident to his office. I soon learned that before nine o'clock this marvel of diligence had risen, dressed, breakfasted, and was at his desk, devoting the early hours to correspondence or to business with his secretary. Often he had invited some one to breakfast with him in order to discuss some urgent or left-over matter of public concern.

When Congress was in session—it sat late in the

year in question—the Senators and Representatives had the right of access to the President between the hours of ten and twelve, except on the regular Cabinet days, Tuesdays and Fridays. He must then listen to miscellaneous appeals, generally for favors of some kind, or to party advice, or to remonstrances for some act or refusal to act; incidentally, he would often consider the details of that business in which the executive and legislative branches of the Government had a common interest.

These hours included the visits, with their Senators and Representatives, of almost numberless callers, some, though not many, bent on real public business, more on curiosity, or for that most dismal of all functions, "to pay my respects." In the main, they were either seekers for office, or those who had been fortunate enough to obtain appointments—these carrying out our curious etiquette of coming to thank the President in person. These various processes would end with the luncheon hour, when more business might be transacted with some Cabinet officer, with a knotty problem in policy or patronage, or, if luck favored, opportunity might be found to pass an hour with a valued friend who, in the press of public occupations, had been neglected or overlooked.

During the afternoon, personal appointments, made by himself or his secretary, would be kept; members of the Cabinet, with overflowing portfolios, would be received and the easiest part of their business disposed of, by which time the dinner hour had arrived. Even here, public affairs could not entirely be put on one side, as some one was generally on hand—often another member of the Cabinet—with a different assortment of problems and difficulties.

VI

In those days at three o'clock, on two afternoons of the week, a reception was held, to which the general public was invited. Promptly on the minute, the President would take his stand in the East Room, where all who came were permitted to shake him by the hand. This now discarded function has been so often described that it is not necessary again to tell the public what it was like. But I soon discovered that it meant more to Mr. Cleveland than to most Presidents.

In later years he often spoke of it as one of the characteristic features of our institutions that any person, young or old, rich or poor, white or black, known or obscure, could, if even decently clad, not only see the man who, for the time, was at the head of his country's management, but that he could speak to him upon any question in which he had a peculiar interest. He used to delight in the scene when he could look out of the Executive Mansion, in every direction, without seeing a soldier or so much as a policeman. It has been my privilege to see many Presidents in these informal functions, but none who was himself so much interested in the crowd about him as really to enjoy this part of his work. On these occasions I have seen him shake hands with four hundred men, women, and children within twenty minutes.

In most cases, the American citizen who finds himself before the President of the United States is, somehow, awed into silence. The fine speeches, imagined or composed, have flown out of the windows. Perhaps one in five has some word for the President's ear, now of suggestion or advice, again an application for some

desired post, but generally a wholesome, hearty greeting of a personal character. In all my experience, no man ever adapted himself better to his visitors. As each greeting might demand, he gave something original in return, the ready wit, the lightness of his character coming out in fitting jest, or his deep, underlying sentiment finding expression in terms which defined his good will to the person concerned.

He would not permit visitors to be crowded or hurried, and the attendant who attempted this was sure to find himself baffled by the tact and persistence of the President. Overwhelmed as he was with the serious concerns put into his keeping, neither neglecting nor overlooking anything, he would give this popular ceremonial unremitting attention until the latest comer had been seen and had had his opportunity to see.

VII

Mr. Cleveland was one of the most popular of the Presidents with the officials and attendants of the Executive Mansion. His uniform courtesy, his thoughtfulness, his expressed and felt interest in the individual, his refusal to put burdens upon his helpers, made his administration a model in this respect: so that his advent a second time was welcomed.

I should doubt whether, during all the years of his Presidency, a clerk or attendant ever heard from him so much as a word of impatience, to say nothing of scolding or reproof. He was generally very well served, but, in spite of this fact, he preferred to do a thing himself rather than to berate some one else for ignorance or oversight. That he was often imposed upon

was one of the incidents of his nature and his position: but with him that was no excuse for crossness or ill temper.

It must not, however, be concluded that he was thus easy with responsible offenders in public office. He could be as severe with neglect or infraction of duty as any man.

About nine o'clock at night I would see a Cabinet official, or some one representing him, put in an appearance by appointment with the President. Generally speaking, within my experience, it was the Secretary of the Treasury, the Postmaster-General, the Secretary of the Interior, or the Attorney-General—the officials with much routine business and the fattest of patronage lists. Thus he would have to deal for hours with complicated public affairs and consider an interminable list of appointments. In many instances these budgets were not disposed of before eleven or twelve o'clock, and often such an official was kept with the President until even a later hour.

VIII

A STRIKING illustration of his methods during the first administration—and this was typical of his official life—that came to my knowledge during my stay in the room across the hall, was that told me by the Pardon Clerk of the Department of Justice. The incumbent of this office at the time was Alexander R. Boteler, who, upon the wrenching of West Virginia from the Old Dominion, was one of the original United States Senators for the new State. He was a well-trained lawyer of the old school, a conscientious public servant who, long after his retirement from active politics, had found

refuge in this department, where the work was both congenial and responsible. During one of my visits to him after the election of 1888, Mr. Boteler said to me:

I had been Pardon Clerk for some time under President Arthur, and so I thought I knew something of the way to handle applications for pardons and commutations. In course of time it had developed a routine from which there were few departures. The applications were first taken up in my bureau, where the case was carefully examined, a conclusion reached, a recommendation made, after which a memorandum was prepared and sent to the Attorney-General for his action. This generally meant approval of the work of his department, after which a statement of each case, duly docketed, would go to the President, generally carried by the Pardon Clerk, sometimes, though rarely, by the Attorney-General himself. As the pardons and commutations of sentences passed by the courts were granted in the exercise of pure executive power, the President must sign them.

In my earlier experience this had been merely formal: generally the approval of action recommended by the department. The first time I had occasion to visit President Cleveland on this official errand, I was sent for at night—this of itself being a departure from traditional methods. However, I assumed that the President would keep me only the usual few minutes necessary to sign the recommendations of his chief judicial adviser. When the first case came before him, I found I had made a mistake. He opened the papers, began to read them through from beginning to end, and that, too, in his

slow-moving, deliberate way, and also proceeded to ask questions about the merits of the case itself. As I was taken unawares, naturally I was not prepared to answer these pointed inquiries, with the result that the application was referred back to the department, with instructions to get the papers and also to reply to certain questions he had asked.

I feared I had made a rather sorry showing at this first important conference with the President, and began to be apprehensive lest my bureau had not, after all, done its full duty and that the credit of the department might suffer in his eyes; but I was reassured when the President told me that, in his opinion, this particular duty seemed to him quite the most important and solemn which, in the full plenitude of his authority and responsibility, he had to deal with. He did not criticize any of his predecessors for conducting the business in a way different from his own, but at once made new requirements about the handling of applications for pardons by the department, and especially as to the manner of submission to him. All the illustrating papers were to accompany the recommendations of the department: the petitions, the letters from judges or jurymen; the previous record of the applicant; the time that had elapsed between his arrest and conviction; the character of the prisoner and of his work before sentence; his conduct and, in reality, any fact which could, by any possibility, bear upon the case, was to be available, if, in his judgment, it was needed.

When this record was made up and submitted, he would still keep me for hours, going over all the features entering into account, with as much care

as if he was himself trying the accused in a court of original jurisdiction. He was not satisfied even then, but, when a decision was reached, never hurriedly or formally, he would often prepare the memorandum to be filed in the department. In the more difficult cases he would take the papers, go over them himself in detail, and so delay his decision until he had thoroughly satisfied himself of the merits of the application.

I recall one instance, among many, which illustrated his method of dealing with pardons and commutations, and also showed his sensibility. Out in the Indian Territory an Indian, an idle and, I fear, a very bad one, had killed another of the same general character, in a drunken brawl. The case appeared to be a perfectly straight and clear one, but, when I brought him the papers, I saw that he was interested and that he was not likely to rest satisfied with the department recommendation that the law should take its course. The record was an elaborate one, even as we had prepared it, but it was still insufficient to satisfy the President and his scruples. There was none too much time to act, but he delayed the execution, called for the full shorthand report of the trial, and instructed us to procure further letters from the judges, the District Attorney, and the jurors. When they were submitted, he went over all these with the most elaborate and painstaking care, and finally disposed of the case in a memorandum of a few words, granting a commutation.

While we were investigating this particular case and when he had come to a decision, he said to me: "Boteler, I could not have slept nights if this man had been hanged because of a declination or failure

on my part to look into his case. He is only a poor Indian, but I cannot forget that he has nobody else in the world to look after him and to see that his rights are fully preserved, and I will do it whatever effort it may cost me."

At another time there came before him the case of a cashier who, defaulting, had stolen money from a national bank. The strongest pressure was brought to induce the President to pardon him, but when he signed the memorandum of refusal he said to me: "We must not forget that this man has robbed poor men, women, and children. I will not pardon any such man, because his offense endangers the foundation of business honor."

I have explained some of his methods at length in order to show why the polished door revealed the shadow of this "moving finger" and why it was often busy writing at two, or three, and sometimes, as I discovered later, at four o'clock in the morning. This instance was only typical. I found that he took abnormal pains to prevent the success of a fraudulent application for a pension the amount of which was insignificant; to investigate a claim; or to satisfy himself about the small matters entering into account in the routine business of a great government. He simply could not and would not accept the conclusion of any adviser, however dignified or trusted, when a principle was involved, unless or until that official had demonstrated his faith by works which proved that he, too, was as careful and as conscientious as his chief.

IX

I FEAR that some of my readers may be reminded, by this long interruption, of the course of an Eastern tale: but it has seemed to me fitting to tell it here at the very threshold of my story of the twenty years' association which was to bring before me many times these and a thousand like facts and impressions. At that time I had not seen the President, except on official or ceremonious occasions, so that he could have no personal recollection of me.

I do not believe that he knew I was working only a few feet from him, until I had the book fairly under way. I had included in it a feature which seemed to me important and informing for the average political orator, for whose instruction such a compilation was prepared and published. This was a formal collection of such of the candidate's speeches and addresses as I could gather, especially those lying outside politics or administration. Within two or three weeks, when I received proofs of this section of the book, I sent him a set of them, and the next day he came to thank me. It so happened that, even thus early, I had found some utterances which he himself had quite forgotten.

As in duty and pleasure bound, I continued to send him proofs, and so, from time to time, in the late afternoon, after a public reception, or when he could find a little leisure, he would visit my working-room. I recall that he was keenly interested in the collected histories of the departments, which, by this time, were beginning to come from many different directions. He expressed surprise that it had been possible in a few weeks to make so complete a showing, and he was scarcely less aston-

ished that, when massed, it revealed such a creditable record on the part of his administration, in so brief a time as three years. He was interested when I told him that, so far as my knowledge went, this was the first instance in our political history—and I may add that it was perhaps the last—in which an official text-book representing the policy of a great party had been compiled by one man, with only a single adviser, and without the oversight or authority of a committee of some kind. When it appeared, a book of 652 pages, in comparatively small type, he found that more than a hundred volunteers had taken part in its preparation.

X

As the compilation neared completion the President showed more and more interest in it. "You are certainly making campaigning easy," he said, "for the average public speaker. Even a man who keeps in the closest possible touch with politics and is expected to make original contributions to its discussion needs the facts and documents thus brought together in order that he may so verify his figures as to clench his arguments." He was convinced, however, that the real benefit of a compilation on these lines lay in the fact that the busy country lawyer, or the young man just starting out, was enabled to marshal his facts and conclusions in a way otherwise impossible.

The massing of the historical materials relating to four years of actual administration seemed to him more valuable than the conclusions of some one writer who might interpret events in his own way. He feared that the trend of thought was setting in the direction of a

personal following in politics and that voters were so inclined to run in organized bodies that they would permit a leader, generally in office, to sound the note in public discussion. This did not appear to him wholesome, because, as country must be put above party, so the principles of a party should take precedence of the opinions or interests of the individuals who compose it, whatever their position.

XI

It has always seemed to me curious that, although I was fairly well known in Washington, I made my daily round through departments and Capitol; associated familiarly with members of Congress, many of them Republicans; met, day after day and night after night, dozens of Washington correspondents; and yet the matter was so well concealed that I have never so much as heard even a rumor that I had for more than seven weeks, in 1888, at an office in the White House, prepared the Democratic Campaign Text-Book.

It became almost wholly a personal undertaking. I had slipped into Washington one Monday morning; had taken possession of a room across the hall from the workroom of the President of the United States; had gone into the departments, one after another; had seen department, bureau, or division heads; and, before anybody realized it, the task was done. It would have been impossible if the secret of my errand had not been kept by a hundred discreet men.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PRESIDENTIAL INTERIM

I

TRANSFERRED from Washington to National Committee headquarters in New York to undertake the task—soon seen to be hopeless—of bringing order out of chaos in the literary branch of its work, with the Text-Book not yet completed, I quit the hard work incident to the White House after seven weeks of occupancy of my room there.

It would be idle, at this distance of time, to discuss that ill-starred campaign with its futile, amateur management, its wasted effort, its lack of sympathy, either with the candidate or the issue he had raised, and its almost tragic outcome.

II

Two days before the expiration of his first term, I made a visit to Washington to see the outgoing President, fearful lest no other Democrat might again fill the office in my time. I found him still sternly attached to the issue he had raised, regretful only for its defeat, not for his own, and disdainful of ambition for the future. He manifested no sympathy with the move-

ment in his favor, which began to take on importance from the moment of his defeat.

He foresaw, even then, with great clearness of vision the events of the succeeding four years: the comparative waste of a surplus collected and preserved, by dint of great effort and under discouraging conditions; the triumph of tariff greed; and the failure to meet the financial situation as represented by the growing demand for the free coinage of silver. He told me of his plans for the future, of his desire to escape from turmoil and misunderstanding, and of his firm belief, often repeated in the future, as the reader will discover, that he had done his real work, incomplete as it was, so far as the Presidency was concerned.

When he came to New York for residence and was settled in his office at 45 William Street, I called to see him, after which, while I heard much of his movements through Colonel Lamont and other friends, I seldom saw him during the summer. He was absent a great deal, and when at home was finding some of the rest so much needed. He was also adjusting himself to new and strange surroundings. It was his first experience of life in a great city. The whole environment was strange to him, as it remained to the end. He accepted few invitations, made only two or three speeches—mainly in reply to conventional welcomes—and slowly settled down to a new routine.

It was not long, however, before a sentiment of regret over his defeat and premature retirement from public life began to manifest itself. Perhaps it was first openly shown at the centennial celebration of the inauguration of Washington, at the close of April after his retirement. This was unconsciously promoted by a remarkable sermon preached on that occasion in St. Paul's

Chapel by the late Bishop Potter. It was, in every sense, a lofty treatment of the great questions of the day, but, somehow, in the public mind, it was associated with approval of the President who had just retired and with condemnation of his successor. As is often the case with public sentiment, this was an unfair inference, but from it may be dated the feeling in the public mind, fickle as it is, that perhaps an injustice had been done to a man who, after doing commanding service, was still in the prime of life and capable of still higher work.

About the middle of the following November, Colonel Lamont said one day: "I wish you would run over and see the President. He is going to make a speech in Boston some time next month, and he needs you. He has not even the smallest idea of how to get it distributed, and so does not know which way to turn. I am too much engaged to help him, and so have told him that I would send you over, and that you would attend to it. At any rate, go and discuss the matter with him."

I scarcely felt that my acquaintance with Mr. Cleveland was close enough to warrant the assumption that I could be of service to him, but, keeping my promise, I went, and this was the real beginning of an interesting relation. Starting with only a bare acquaintance, which itself grew out of a chance meeting over political business, it developed at once, with new opportunity, into confidence on his part and devotion and interest on my side.

III

This address was the first important one he had made since leaving the Presidency. It was to be delivered before the Merchants' Association of Boston on Decem-

ber 12 of that year. I found him nervous about it. He had scarcely yet had time to perceive the change in the public temper and was in much trepidation lest he might not be able to do real service to the good causes whose success he wished to promote.

Ballot reform was then in its infancy, but he determined to make it the principal topic of his discourse. When I called to see him, the speech had been blocked out, the first or second revision had been made, and it had been read to Colonel Lamont and one or two friends. They had not wholly approved the advanced position he had taken, and had endeavored—and, as was usual with them and all others, vainly—to get him to modify it. He read it over to me with that care which ere long I was to understand better. Even then, I made two or three modest suggestions of verbal changes, most of which he adopted; but when I mentioned anew the objections which, though urged by Colonel Lamont and the others, did not appeal to me, he used very positive language in deciding that he would never consent to eliminate these sentences. They remained in the speech, and, as often happened, were the most effective parts of it, and more than justified his own judgment.

So he made another fair copy, and this was again read aloud for further criticism. It was in this way that a new start in Mr. Cleveland's public life—for this was what it really meant—was initiated. It was sent to the printer of the weekly paper of which I was then editor, and the proofs were read with unusual care.

As it was my function, primarily, to advise upon the distribution to the press, this question was very fully discussed, with a good many ups and downs. I had not counted upon being asked for an opinion on the merits, the form, or the policy of the address, although, as I

learned later, this was one of the features in mind when I was requested to lend my assistance. I did not assume to be a judge of these qualities, but I did feel that I knew how best to reach the newspapers with effectiveness. He wanted to limit the number to about twenty or thirty selected papers; but I stood for a universal distribution to morning newspapers, through the press associations, of which there were then two, with no copies to individual editors or papers, not even as compliments to friends. Thus was inaugurated the policy of giving his utterances to the whole country upon a given date, and avoiding any possible charge of favoritism: a policy which was to have far-reaching effects.

IV

He agreed to this, and so it was arranged that about five hundred copies should be printed; but there was a marked difference of opinion about the time that the matter should be furnished to the associations for distribution under their system by post. It was before the days of limited fast trains to the Pacific coast, and so I stood for the seven days then necessary to assure their delivery in the remotest parts of the country. He had then, as always before and after, the very strongest distrust of newspaper editors, so that when he finally compromised upon five days, being the most that he would consent to allow, he accompanied this with the final grumble: "You will find yourself betrayed by some one, and I will be speaking an address which has been published somewhere." He was not satisfied even when assured that in such a case we should punish the offending papers. Some days after the earlier copies had gone out through

one of the press associations, an oversight was discovered which made it necessary to send out some supplementary supplies. When I notified him of this, he forwarded them, but wrote me, only two days before the delivery of the address in Boston, the following letter: the first in what was to prove a long series running over the remainder of his life.

45 William Street,
New York, December 10, 1889.

Dear Mr. Parker:

I send the copies of the address as you requested. I am afraid you will be "too previous" if you send to the Pittsburgh papers to-day. I think it would be better to wait to mail them at such a time as will put them in the hands of the editors not earlier than Thursday afternoon. They ought not to be kicking about a newspaper office very long before the thing is delivered.

Yours very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

George F. Parker, Esq.,
57 Broadway.

There was no premature publication; his speech was printed letter-perfect as delivered, in practically every paper in the United States; the suspected editors had had time to study what he said and to comment upon it with intelligence; and he was both pleased and surprised at the reception he had commanded in the country.

From that time until the end of his life, I handled something like sixty or seventy speeches or letters, and of them all, there was never a single abuse of the privilege. To this policy, far more than to anything else, except his own personality, must be attributed his third nomination and his overwhelming election to the Presidency for a second term. Although he never lost his

suspicion of the individual editor or reporter, it was never necessary, after this first successful experiment, to ask what time he would give for reaching the country. I did as I chose in this respect, and he cared nothing about it.

V

Although Mr. Cleveland neither suspected nor intended it, this Boston speech of December 12, 1889, was the opening gun in the campaign for his third nomination and second election. His friends, especially those in Boston, had not lost sight of this hope: which was, to them, the logic of his defeat at the preceding election, and the fitting climax to his career. Soon thereafter, probably upon my first long visit to his house—which was early substituted for the office as a place to discuss his new work of dealing with the public—I raised this question of his renomination. He disavowed all idea of a return to public life in any capacity, and concerning a reëlection he said:

> Why should I have any desire or purpose of returning to the Presidency? It involves a responsibility almost beyond human strength for a man who brings conscience to the discharge of his duties. Besides, I feel somehow that I made a creditable showing during my first term, all things considered, and I might lose whatever of character and reputation are already gained in it. I do not want the office, and, above all, I do not feel that I can take the risk involved in a second term after the intervention of one by another man and an opposing party. It would be necessary for me to start new again, and I do not feel equal to it.

It was useless to urge that, from the signs of the times, he would be able to render a service to the country which, compared with anything in his first term, would be colossal in its proportions. I make no doubt that this colloquy, in virtually identical language, was repeated between us more than a score of times during the two and a half years succeeding the events just narrated. Until within a few months of the Chicago Convention he never failed to insist that he did not want to be a candidate, and, at the very last, he consented with great reluctance. This position did not betoken an undue or mock modesty; it was not because he wanted to be urged, or from a disinclination to yield his own judgment to that of his friends and partizan followers. He had held the office, had tried his own capacities, and had no illusions about either it or himself. Nor was he one to affect an indifference to a lofty ambition like that involved in the Presidency, for, as I shall show hereafter, when the time came for work, he was one of the most ingenious, efficient, and helpful of politicians, whether it involved his own fortunes or those of another. These things were only incidents of a cause to which he was devoted, and he looked upon himself as a soldier enlisted in the volunteer army of good citizenship.

Once the way was open in this matter of influencing the country, it became next to impossible to stop. He had no friend anywhere, scarcely an acquaintance, who was not convinced, after the Merchants' Association address, that his renomination in 1892 was both a patriotic and a party necessity. But the sentiment lay much deeper than mere friendship or acquaintance. It would be difficult to exaggerate the outburst of feeling that was soon to manifest itself, without the necessity for machinery or organization, from every part of the

country, down among the people themselves. Hitherto, in his short public career, he had not had many opportunities to feel the popular pulse so far as speech was concerned. He had not undertaken to interpret his public acts. He did not give much heed to the swelling tide of approval as it came to him in the press: he was never greatly impressed with this as a form of public sentiment. Now, however, began that flood of private letters which showed, far more conclusively, that he was really in the way to be understood by his countrymen—something far more agreeable to him than distinction or continuance in public office.

VI

Among other features was the almost overwhelming demand, from every part of the country and from almost every order of serious organization among his countrymen, that he should make a speech, deliver an oration, or address a college society. He soon found it difficult even to answer these invitations, to say nothing of accepting them. He disliked public speaking, and it was disagreeable to make the necessary preparation. He would speak only when he felt that he could say something worth while. He felt so deeply on the problems confronting his countrymen, that, if he consented to deal with these at all, he was desirous that his contributions should be really helpful, without the slightest regard to himself and his position. It was not long before he found himself writing somewhat elaborate letters of regret—efforts which required nearly as much work in the way of preparation as a speech. As these were nearly always printed in the local press and thus

gradually found their way into wider circulation, the pressure increased, and he soon found that, whether he wanted it so or not, much of his time had to be given up to the public.

During the year that followed the Boston address, he avoided political, and especially party, questions so far as possible. He had to make a great number of speeches, generally in New York itself, or within easy reach, upon religious, philanthropic, literary, professional, and other questions of a social character. Every address, whatever its nature, or however local it might be or seem, was distributed upon the system already described. The exalted position he had held, aided by his new popularity in the country, procured the very widest publicity for everything that he said or wrote. Millions of people who had never known him as other than a political figure found out that he held sensible, rational opinions upon a vast range of topics in connection with which they had never thought of him. His addresses were never so frequent as to pall, and were always so short and fitting as to command publication and attract readers. He did not indulge in the cheap humor then so common, and not yet extinct, so that his character as a man of serious mind never suffered.

Never was a better or surer foundation laid for effective political work than this one. It brought little surprise to the public, and much gratification to his friends, to see how fully he met the demands of the one and the solicitations of the other. He thus made a series of effective speeches on questions of the day, more especially those which he himself had emphasized and brought to the front. From this time forward, the demands for such interpretations of his policy came from every part of the country, North or South.

VII

THERE was no organization, no plan, no money, for promoting the third nomination, and yet, somehow, the movement began to take on something like form—not from any open approval on the part of the man chiefly involved, but by the silence which is said to give consent. How it started, or how it was carried on, I could not explain. Prominent men from outside or distant States began to ask whether I thought that Mr. Cleveland would accept an invitation to make a speech at some Democratic celebration or banquet in their neighborhood. Others dropped into my office with the request that I should take them over to see Mr. Cleveland, and still others were referred to me by him.

I bore no official or personal relation to him and none of any kind beyond that described. Before long, however, I was supposed, in the mind of such persons, to be a sort of assistant or secretary, so that the reputation of managing a campaign for a Presidential nomination was thrust upon me. I had not sought any such position, nor knowingly accepted it, or counted upon holding it, and as private employments were already exacting, no such addition to my burdens had entered into my mind: but the ends thus instinctively aimed at were consonant with my own ideas and desires. So I soon came to enjoy it and, in course of time, adjusted my affairs to this unexpected interruption.

The Congressional elections of 1890 gave an overmastering impetus to the movement. After the "Old Roman" banquet—which was organized and managed by John J. Lentz, then a rising young politician in Ohio—in honor of Allen G. Thurman, given on November

13, 1890—really the first in the series of important party addresses—invitations to speak came to Mr. Cleveland in growing numbers. This interest was intensified by the banquet—which had, perhaps, as far-reaching effects as any ever held in the United States—given by the Reform Club of New York on December 23, 1890. From that time forth there was no such thing as curbing party enthusiasm or of even thinking of a candidate for the nomination other than Mr. Cleveland.

This dominating affair, which was suggested and carried through by a few men, had many interesting features in it—some of which were wholly concealed from the public. It was assumed from this time, by the inner circle, which had been enlarged until it included men of commanding party influence in every State of the Union, that it was no longer necessary to trouble ourselves about the nomination for President: this was firmly settled in the public mind as well as by party necessity and destiny.

VIII

It was, therefore, proposed to lay lines for the Vice-Presidency, in order to assure a candidate with an ability, standing, and experience that would add strength to the ticket and also bring this office back to the high traditions of earlier days. Among those consulted were two influential leaders from Iowa—the late Moses M. Ham, formerly member of the National Committee, and his successor, Jennis J. Richardson, who were strongly desirous of bringing before the country, in a large way, the name and personality of Horace Boies, then Governor of that State. They insisted that he should be

invited to speak at the banquet upon the relation of the tariff to the Western farmer. Although the list of speakers had been made up—containing as it did the strongest possible array of leading men from every section of the country—the toast list was gladly enlarged by the addition of this name.

On the day of the banquet Governor Boies came to New York and naturally desired to pay his respects to Mr. Cleveland, who, many years before, had been an acquaintance in Buffalo. Formal greetings over, the Governor took occasion to ask his former neighbor whether the absence of a dress-suit would be noticed and also whether reading rather than declaiming his speech would be acceptable. He was reassured on these points, and the speech made by the Governor was well received by his audience, made an impression upon the country, and brought him into greater vogue in his own State.

The Governor's friends had not deemed it necessary, at this early stage, to consult him about his Vice-Presidential candidacy, and I may here anticipate my story by a few months, and tell the sequel. By the end of the next year, the Governor of Iowa, greatly to the consternation and embarrassment of his friends—our associates and fellow-plotters—had blossomed out as a full-fledged candidate for the Presidency, with the result that when the Cleveland forces arrived in Chicago on June 17, 1892, the noisiest and most persistent of the opposing movements to be encountered was that organized by the supporters of Horace Boies—for whom his State had given binding instructions. Delegations of Iowans, to whom even a Democratic Governor was a most unfamiliar sight, had come to town in great force to insist that their candidate could carry Iowa, and that ours could not.

It caused only annoyance, but it did illustrate how in politics, as otherwheres,

> The best-laid schemes o' mice and men
> Gang aft agley.

When the Vice-Presidency came up for consideration, the name first in mind among the supporters of the successful candidate was the Governor of Iowa; but the tender, and with it the Vice-Presidency for four years, were contemptuously cast aside, and the incident took its place among the unexpected humors of politics.

IX

This movement, thus fairly under way, was nursed in the office of an obscure weekly newspaper in lower Broadway. There were no committees made up of names, whether prominent or aspiring, no secretaries, no machinery, and no money. Mr. Cleveland's invitation list grew apace, until it became necessary for him to arrange acceptances with some regard to system. But, if the movement had no important centre and no head, it had a popular following all over the country. Mr. Cleveland himself was no more a conscious, avowed candidate than he had been at any previous time, and when I would speak to him, now and again, upon the question, I was met uniformly with the answer already recorded. He always believed, up to a period somewhat later than this, that the Cause—as he always termed it—would develop a candidate other than himself. He thus felt free to give any aid in his power without being subject to a charge of promoting his own ambitions, already fully satisfied.

Early in 1891, the pressure from every part of the country, for at least the semblance of an organization, became stronger. Prominent politicians, influential or dominant in their States, came to New York as to a Mecca, while men seldom heard of in such movements also came and added to its strength. No overtures were made to anybody, no support was sought, no machine was devised; but as no efforts were required, within a short time it became necessary for me to put myself into correspondence with one or more trusted men in every State—men who could give information as to the Cleveland sentiment.

As I recall, it was possible for me, from my personal acquaintance, to choose these men in something more than thirty States. By this time Mr. Cleveland's correspondence had increased to abnormal proportions, and he was engaged in a never-ending struggle to keep pace with it in those innumerable letters in his own hand. When I could think of no suitable man in a given State, I would go to him, and handing me some stray letter, generally written by a stranger to both of us, he would say: "Well, I received this the other day. I don't know the man, but he may be of use to you." In these ways, without calling for help or showing my political cards to any one, the list was completed, and it laid the foundation for the far more serious and vital work of the future.

X

It was the oddest of campaigns. Its most curious and unusual feature was the comparative absence of men close to the party machine. In every State, except Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, our original corre-

spondents and advisers were men not known in active management, either then or since. In many States, in fact in most, the machine was a persistent, often a malignant, enemy. If there ever was a movement which derived both its origin and its strength from the people, it was this one, with no organization behind it, or anything except the personality of a man who, having espoused an idea, thus made real appeal to popular sentiment.

Nor was its conduct, so far as correspondence was concerned, anything like so difficult or intricate as might have been supposed. Letters were continually coming in to me making report of local conditions in many States, but it must also be recalled that others were arriving in still greater numbers to Mr. Cleveland and that these were common property. He had the keenest appreciation of the value of something written by some one else, but was wholly contemptuous as to the value or forgetful of the existence of a contribution of his own.

This fact was effectively illustrated while the Farmers' Alliance movement was reaching its development in the West and South. He had watched this growth with the deepest interest, and, in many respects, with sympathy, but he had never dealt with it as a political idea. Early in 1890, just after we had begun to circulate his utterances in a systematic way, the growth of this organization came up one evening in the course of conversation, when he said: "Parker, I wrote a letter the other day in reply to one which came from somewhere in Ohio, in which I set forth, rather fully, my view of the relation of the farmers to the tariff."

As there was need, just then, for such an exposition, I was interested and sought at once to find his correspondent and to get his letter. As he kept no copies,

he could only give its purport from memory. After a hunt of a day or so, he found the name and address on a used envelop. With no more clue than this, I wrote to the editor of the local Democratic paper, told him of the existence of the letter, suggested its publication, and procured from him a copy, which was distributed in the usual way. Politically speaking, it proved one of the most useful and influential of his productions and obtained a wide circulation.

XI

Once started, the movement ran itself, gathering momentum without concerted effort or central direction. Even the most efficient State boss, if the coöperation of such an one could have been imagined, would have been wholly lost in the overmastering, irresistible public sentiment to which it was early possible to make appeal. When the movement was fairly under way, three months after the elections of 1890, nothing but Mr. Cleveland's positive and firm refusal to accept, if nominated in the following year, would have had the smallest effect upon the party and its action. Doubt no longer existed or was possible. It was not only public sentiment to which appeal could be made, but by this time the most effective, because a thoroughly popular, machine had been constructed—exclusively a Cleveland machine, having only the smallest connection with anything that was in existence at the close of the first term, or with the official organization of the party in even so much as one State.

As this organization grew without the use of money, or the intervention of any recognized leader, new or old, or anything resembling routine or conscious

management, it becomes, as an historical fact, as spontaneous, and in its final results and conduct—the management at Headquarters in 1892—perhaps as artistic as any known to American experience. Its motive power was not new: it was merely the application to the country at large, on modified lines—though without money to sustain or promote it—of the methods so successfully employed in New York a few years earlier by Samuel J. Tilden. Without definite plans to be followed, it brought to the front the best men of the party, who, interested in politics, but more in a man and a cause, without personal ambitions of their own, did their work and passed off the political scene.

This was true not only in small communities, but in the whole country. A majority of the workers had never seen Mr. Cleveland, and he probably never heard of one in a hundred, until he received reports about them from his friends. In the beginning they were entirely unknown to Mr. Whitney or to any of the managers, who came upon the scene when the real work of the campaign was over. They were lawyers, doctors, business men, financiers, farmers, even clergymen. I doubt whether one in five of them had ever voted at a primary or was known to the local management of his party. Only a few of their names came even to Mr. Cleveland and myself—then the only persons who knew the course of matters—for, behind those mentioned, were unnumbered thousands whose very existence was wholly unknown to us.

XII

In spite of the spontaneity of the movement, it was not without form or void. Almost unconsciously, the men

knew each other—as it is said the members of a Vigilance Committee instinctively recognize their fellows. In the end, nothing was overlooked, no risks or chances were taken. If a situation in a given State was weak, or had in it doubtful elements, some man within its borders was chosen or volunteered to set it right. If a large city needed attention, it was given; because, in some mysterious way, the right man came to the front and executed the task allotted to him by common consent. A like process adapted itself to conditions in districts and counties. I never heard of jealousies even in a single State. It was natural that new men should push themselves to the front because they were able to do something of interest to themselves and of use to the cause in hand. As they could get quickly under way, they had done their work before the regular political forces woke up, but it would have been easy to compose any difficulties that might present themselves. Our friends were looking for results, not recognition, and willingly retired again to the background when they had gained what they wanted.

Perhaps this was best illustrated in California, where the machine was really against us so far as this is possible when public sentiment runs strongly in an opposite direction. The man through whom we worked there, from the beginning, was John P. Irish, formerly of Iowa. I had known him since 1868; he had held close relations with Mr. Cleveland, both individually and in politics, and was as effective a stump speaker as his party had. He was a newspaper man of training and experience, though then unattached. He began on his own motion, without money or aid of any kind, the task of influencing public sentiment through the country newspapers to which he found ready access. With the

local machine he was perhaps the most unpopular man to be found anywhere, a fact which added to his pleasure in the task he had undertaken. He received no help from New York or elsewhere except interviews or other matter for publication in which the course of public sentiment in the East was set forth.

By the end of 1891, he had put his State into the very front rank of Cleveland supporters without, however, making the smallest impression upon the machine. Under such conditions, it was naturally impossible for him to be chosen as a delegate. But he was in the State Convention held at Fresno on May 19, and from his place on the Resolutions Committee he procured the very strongest instructions for Cleveland and for the unit rule. It was possible to count upon nearly half the delegates as friends, and the remainder were open to control by means of the overwhelming public sentiment which Mr. Irish had aroused.

While an effective orator, he did not know how to spell the word "discretion"—if this process also involved the use of the letters making up the word "surrender." When the California delegation was ready to start for Chicago, it followed the example formerly set by all representative bodies from that State; i.e., it filled two or three decorated Pullman cars with fruit, wines, flowers, and other characteristic products, and started on its way. Irish traveled in another part of the same train. At a long halt at some mountain station in Nevada, he was strolling up and down the platform, when a number of bystanders who knew him, from his stumping experience in their neighborhood, called upon him for a speech. He declined, saying to the assembled crowd, while pointing to the cars covered with flags and bunting: "Why don't you call upon those fellows

in there? I am not traveling with this aggregation. My only purpose is to stay close enough to them, both here and in Chicago, to keep them from slipping their handcuffs." It need scarcely be said that with such a watchman there was never the smallest danger that the delegates from California would disobey instructions, although assiduously courted because of their known personal inclinations.

XIII

I HAVE told this story, somewhat out of its place, in order to explain the methods of work, the spontaneity of the movement, some of the difficulties involved, the kind of men enlisted in its unselfish and unrequited service, and also that the public may know and history record that it was no great concerted effort by a party machine, or the fabled work by some Napoleon of management, or the promise or hope of office that brought about the third nomination of Grover Cleveland.

Virtually, each State took care of itself. During all this preliminary period which continued until February 22, 1892, no man was asked for money, none was paid for services, and no general conference was either called or held. While thousands of people were engaged, lovingly and devotedly, in this task, and so, from necessity, knew what they wanted, they were unaware of what others were doing, there was no commanding general, and, when it was all over, there was left no distinctively Cleveland machine which could be used again. There were no agents traveling here and there, no central newspaper dominated for both the profit and the

glorification of a candidate—there was nothing but attachment to a man and a cause. No like campaign had been carried on before, and it is not probable that it belongs to that class of historical events which tend to repeat themselves.

CHAPTER IX

PREPARATION FOR 1892

I

THE work of wider scope of the preliminary campaign, which, I find from my correspondence files, was entered upon early in April, 1890, in a purely personal way, and only with the knowledge of Colonel Lamont, lasted, in this form, until about the first of February, 1892. It was not until the National Convention call, on January 8, followed by that, issued at unusually short notice, for a State convention to be held at Albany on February 22, to choose delegates, that Mr. Cleveland came consciously to think of himself as a candidate for a third nomination.

New York politics had not come distinctly within the scope of the plan. Always difficult and the sport of faction, it was more fraught just then with difficulty and division than ever before. From whatever point the question might be viewed, Mr. Cleveland had ceased to represent any one State: he had become a national candidate, so that, if chosen at all, it must be by a popular movement covering the whole country.

It would have been a contradiction in terms to conduct a movement everywhere else without direct reference to the machine and then to rely upon it in New

York. But the call for the convention, which, under ordinary circumstances, would have passed without notice, at once excited, in every State in the Union, loud and indignant protests. To realize that, with practically no popular sentiment anywhere for any other, there was danger that the leading candidate would be deprived of the support of the delegation from the State of his residence, aroused deep resentment.

It was clear, however, that there was both the power and the will to play the game to the end. The so-called Snap Convention ran its predestined course, and the delegation was instructed for David B. Hill. The contest was then on, but fight in reality there never was after that, because Mr. Cleveland's nomination, which, on the day before, only awaited his consent to assure it, had become, the day after, a necessity, which neither assent nor declination could have affected in the smallest degree.

II

About the time that the convention call was issued, Mr. Cleveland accepted a long-standing invitation—newly pressed upon him by his friend and former Postmaster-General, Don M. Dickinson—to address the students of the State University of Michigan on Washington's birthday, at the very moment when the convention of his own State would be nominally condemning him.

Familiar, since November, 1889, with every step that he had taken in the preparation of more than thirty addresses of every kind, I had never seen him enter with so keen a relish and enjoyment upon any task as upon this one. A reader who will take the trouble to seek out, in his collected works, the address on "Sentiment

in Our National Life" will discover that, in this, the longest of all his occasional addresses, there is a fervor, an eloquence, an enthusiasm, an interest in his subject, and, at the same time, a pathos, seldom manifested in his utterances. Unusual care had been taken in the distribution of the printed slips, so that, in addition to the usual morning papers, the afternoon papers in the leading cities, and many religious, agricultural, and miscellaneous weeklies, were supplied with advance copies. When, on the following day, the reprint of this address and its accompanying descriptions and incidents and the like reports of the Albany Convention appeared, side by side, it did not need any great prescience to see which was to be the more influential in creating sentiment.

III

When the State Committee had met in New York to issue the convention call, some of the friends of Mr. Cleveland asked to be heard in opposition to the proposed action, but their protests were not heeded. At Albany the same people appeared upon the scene and, in like manner, asked to be heard. The request was denied and the program was adopted without serious opposition.

From that moment the nomination campaign took on new color, and an activity began which, within a short time, was to involve the entire country. The State of New York, not hitherto looked upon by the Cleveland advocates as an important or calculable element in the contest, became the centre—all aflame with effort and counter-effort. As if by magic, there sprang into being an organization known as the Anti-

Snappers. Within a week after the adjournment of the convention, the State was aroused. No county was so laggard that it did not take part in a movement which was soon to overwhelm all opposition. All the paraphernalia of State, county, city, and local committees was collected. A State convention was called for the purpose of sending to Chicago a contesting delegation —which, though it did not present its credentials, was, with its accompanying workers, probably quite as influential as any ever seen in our great national gatherings.

Money was collected in plenty and with little difficulty, so that it became easy to provide for meetings, speakers, and the news and arguments for newspapers, which were eager for everything that could be compiled. It early ceased to be a fight on the State machine and, in New York as well as the country at large, it was centred upon Tammany.

IV

The informal organization already described now became an important factor. It was the nucleus of an efficient working body and soon covered the country with its efforts. Hitherto, as already explained, it had played its part without money or even public knowledge of its existence.

Of the newspaper men of the country, only Mr. Sereno S. Pratt, then correspondent of the Philadelphia *Ledger,* now secretary of the New York Chamber of Commerce, and Mr. Thomas F. Meehan, correspondent of the Baltimore *Sun,* now one of the editors of the Catholic Encyclopedia, knew of the activities conducted from No. 57 Broadway. They saw Mr. Cleveland occasionally during these interim years. The work was either

carried on through the press associations or, as became necessary in later days, by direct communication with newspapers.

It was early determined that those who had held relations to the work already done should keep themselves clear of the Anti-Snap movement. About the first of March I submitted to its leaders a memorandum setting forth what had been done, describing the machinery ready for operation, and outlining what, in my opinion, it was possible to do. As before, New York was taboo, but the remainder of the country, especially the South, was to be shown—by the Anti-Snappers, working in their own way—that not only could Mr. Cleveland carry his own State at the polls, but that probably no other candidate could do so. The necessary money was furnished, and steps were at once taken to enlarge our activities.

V

Just three months lay before us in which to influence the latest of the State conventions. Within ten days an effective news bureau was in communication with all Democratic newspapers. Among other features suggested was one involving the simultaneous publication, in most of the large cities in which we could command the help of friendly newspapers, of local interviews almost wholly with business men—insisting upon the nomination of Mr. Cleveland. Within a week or so of each other, during April, May, and early June, influential, widely circulated papers in Boston, New York, Providence, Springfield, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Pittsburgh, Louisville, St. Louis, St. Paul, Chi-

cago, Cleveland, Richmond, Charleston, and New Orleans, gave columns, and in some cases pages, to this feature—making it home news. The note running through these interviews—all outlined from the New York office—was insistence upon the importance of Mr. Cleveland's nomination to the revival of business on large lines, and an expression of the belief that he could carry the State of New York.

As for the newspapers, no money was expended and no central management was invoked or employed. They gathered and published the news which, lying about them, would not otherwise have been developed or used. This involved only small effort in New York and no expense. The plans were outlined through local correspondents: leading men living in these cities, and the rest of the work they did without interference from anybody. Nothing was managed centrally that friends on the spot could do better and more quietly in their own neighborhoods.

In addition, effective work was done through the same agencies with indifferent or weak-kneed papers in every important State; but their editors or owners never so much as suspected that they were carrying out a policy suggested to them locally, but really settled in New York. It was interesting to note the enthusiasm shown by the editors and correspondents of influential papers of the best order, who entered into our plans. No credit was claimed by anybody at the centre. Experience proves that, when men can have practical ideas which in time they come to treat as original, and are then left free to carry them out in their own way, it is possible to do effective service—so long as public, not personal, ends are served.

VI

It would be impossible, in the promotion of any cause, great or small, to receive more wholesome or effective coöperation from the press of this country than we were able to command for more than three years. Hundreds of newspapers of which we never saw a copy, or whose editors neither then nor afterward ever heard of the work, carried forward the movement for Mr. Cleveland's nomination and reëlection, wholly without pay or reward, or hope or thought of either. One often hears of the pride which comes from the exercise of open power. But no one can exaggerate the pleasure that follows as the effect of working entirely behind the scenes when he finds his devotion to a single object thus effectively promoted by men and influences both unseen and unknown.

It is impossible not to recall these demonstrated facts when one hears, now and again, the charge that everything relating to public opinion is false, corrupt, or selfish. I know this is not true and realize that agitations become dangerous, so far as the press is concerned, only because the agents or representatives of good men, worthy causes, or honest enterprises neglect their duty to themselves and the interests intrusted to them. In most cases they get the reward that neglect, ignorance, or over-confidence deserves.

Mr. Cleveland's nomination and election in 1892 had only a small relation to party intrigue and management: they were effected by sensible and persistent appeals to a sane public sentiment which sent bosses and managers about their business, and asserted itself with a force then, as ever, surprising to such men.

VII

Up to this time the late William C. Whitney had taken no open part in the Cleveland movement looking to 1892. He was known to be opposed to the action of the Albany Convention and had made an earnest but vain effort to keep his friend Mr. Croker and Tammany from adopting such an ill-starred and fatuous policy. His loyalty to Mr. Cleveland was never suspected or even doubted, but he had lost some of his influence.

When the policy of writing the Ellery Anderson letter of February 10, 1891, was under consideration, few men were taken into counsel. Among them were Mr. Anderson himself, Charles S. Fairchild, Colonel Lamont, and Mr. Whitney. Of these, only the latter opposed the attitude assumed by Mr. Cleveland—who was firmly convinced of the necessity of taking such a strong position, thus early, so that no man could doubt where he stood.

In matters of policy no man enjoyed Mr. Cleveland's confidence more than Mr. Whitney; but, as this was a question of principle, in the decision of which politicians had only the smallest influence with him, the Anderson letter was sent. As first drawn, according to the rough sketch, before me as I write, it entered pretty fully into a discussion of the merits of the question as it then presented itself as a dominating issue. It was written and rewritten until, in its settled, final form, its length had been reduced by three-fourths. In each successive revision its tone against free silver became stronger and stronger until the closing sentence of this letter of less than two hundred words ended with bitter denunciation of "the dangerous and reckless experiment of free, unlimited, and independent silver coinage."

Notwithstanding his perfect agreement in principle with this declaration, Mr. Whitney believed that it was premature, unnecessary, and impolitic. He declared, with what for him was unusual vehemence, that it would be fatal to Democratic success in 1892, especially to the candidacy of Mr. Cleveland, whether for nomination or election. For a time the storm of denunciation and obloquy, which broke over its writer's head, seemed to justify these fears. Mr. Whitney, once out of the circle, simply kept his own counsel. The relations between the two men never changed as the result of this or any other difference: they were simply out of agreement for a time, upon a political question, and there was no more to be said or done. Public sentiment soon began to veer Mr. Cleveland's way—although this made no difference to him so far as his own attitude was concerned—but I do not recall any occasion during the succeeding year when the advice of Mr. Whitney was asked.

The Anti-Snap movement aroused Mr. Whitney anew. He was too loyal to stand by and see his chief thus assailed in his own home. But, in his case, as in that of others who had been close to Mr. Cleveland, it was not deemed politic that he should come into the open. He tried, for a time, to bring about a compromise so that other New York candidates should retire, leaving the delegation free to represent the obvious sentiment of the State; but, like most compromises, this did not commend itself to either side.

He had given no sign, although some of the managers of the Anti-Snap movement, never able to account for certain contributions, credited them to Mr. Whitney. Whatever the truth of this, the latter, who still kept silence, sailed for Europe on the 12th of April, leaving behind him an interview which put him into the front

rank of Cleveland advocates and leaders. There was no longer any doubt as to his position, and, this defined, everybody knew just what he could and would do.

VIII

THE work was everywhere so well under way that, when Mr. Whitney returned on the 18th of May, after an absence of five weeks, the organization throughout the country had been perfected; thousands upon thousands of the best men of the country were enlisted; the series of newspaper interviews had been printed in many widely distributed newspapers; and practically all of the routine work had been completed. Thirty-five State and Territorial conventions had been held, of which twenty-four had given binding instructions for Cleveland; seven were known to favor him, though uninstructed; while only four had either presented other candidates or protested against his nomination.

No party manager had done anything to bring about cohesion among these disjointed and independent workers, that is, if Mr. Cleveland himself is thrown out of the account. The Anti-Snappers devoted themselves to New York, but sent agents into States where conventions were still to be held in order to carry the assurance that, with Mr. Cleveland as the candidate, New York was safe for the ticket; but, in general, they paid only slight attention to the whole political field.

That task was soon undertaken on a broader and more comprehensive scale than had hitherto been possible. All the separate units of the army, organized without his direct aid, were now awaiting their general in the person of William C. Whitney. He was particularly fitted

for this kind of work. Generally indifferent to details, putting off as long as possible all the larger things which came before him in life, he had the rare gift of doing within a few days the work that would require weeks on the part of the average leader.

This marvelous power of concentration, amounting almost to genius, was now devoted to the Cleveland cause. Business, social duties—everything that can engage the attention of a man in the prime of life, rich, ambitious, ingenious, active, full of energy when needed —though seldom called out—were put aside for the duties of the movement. After interviews with Mr. Cleveland and a few leading men hurriedly called from near-by States, within a week he had taken in the situation. There was no longer fear of contagion from association with Anti-Snappers. He knew something of the work of my little machine: so I was asked to take to his residence my correspondence and budgets of information from every outside State. There I spent hours with him alone, day after day, until, after studying what had been done, he had assimilated everything, found out who were the new men of light and leading, and discovered the weak points in the plans already devised. He was then ready for the business in hand.

IX

Thenceforward, without any claim or seeking on his part, many of the things done by others, especially by the Anti-Snappers, were credited to Mr. Whitney. In fact, most of them were suggested by Mr. Cleveland, who always knew ten men engaged in the effective work where one would come to Mr. Whitney's knowledge.

One had been engaged in two great national campaigns as a candidate for President and, for three years, had known every step taken in a third, while the other had the defects of the training incident to New York politics.

This side of Mr. Cleveland's character, so little known, was never fully appreciated. Because he recoiled from the distribution of patronage, it was assumed that he did not know the game of the higher politics. It was, however, mainly because he knew so well the great mass of men who, performing real work, asked for little or nothing in return, while the self-seekers—often doing practically nothing—always pushed for a recognition which he knew they did not deserve. He was so accustomed to see the larger features of life that, looking upon politics from this point of view, he often failed, no doubt, to see the small concerns which must, from necessity, be a stock in trade with the State or local manager.

But from whomever the impulse came, the Cleveland army now had a commander. Mr. Whitney not only assumed command, but he furnished money to make the collected information available. By the end of May we were able to communicate with our friends everywhere, with some authority, and to let them know just how the contest was going. Even before this, there was never the smallest doubt in the minds of the initiated as to the result of the Chicago Convention. The nomination of Mr. Cleveland was as fully assured on the 18th of May as it was five weeks later, and nothing that was done in the meantime on either side ever made any change in the conditions.

The real task was to convince the country of this fact, and so to register this predestined result that the popular imagination should be impressed and thus give a momentum to the electoral campaign which nothing could

overcome. The urgent necessity was to elect a President on the second Tuesday in November rather than in the closing days of June. Mr. Whitney's work so assured this that, from the day he took hold in earnest, one campaign so merged itself into the other that both became positively artistic in their conduct and ending.

X

Mr. Cleveland had been waiting, rather impatiently, for Mr. Whitney's return, in order to hold a conference of a few of the leading men hitherto engaged in promoting his interests, or rather those surrounding his name and the issues he had raised. I have before me, written in pencil with his own hand, on Mr. Whitney's embossed note-paper, the list of men to be invited. They were picked men asked, by telegraph, to meet at Mr. Whitney's house on a given day. It was the original idea to get representatives from about twenty States, one from each. This was afterward modified, owing to lack of time for reaching New York from the remoter States, and also for the purpose of keeping it as quiet as possible.

On the ninth day of June, 1892, trusted men from nine or ten States came to New York, left their hotels, where they had been asked not to register their names, and began early to arrive at Mr. Whitney's house, No. 2 West Fifty-seventh Street.[1] It was a terrible day,

[1] Among those who attended the Conference were Judge William G. Ewing of Illinois; William F. Harrity of Pennsylvania; Samuel R. Honey of Rhode Island; Bradley B. Smalley of Vermont; Samuel E. Morss of Indiana; Don M. Dickinson of Michigan; William F. Vilas of Wisconsin; William L. Wilson of West Virginia; John E. Russell, Nathan Matthews, and Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts, and Francis Lynde Stetson of New York. Mr. Whitney presided, and George F. Parker was secretary.

and, looking back upon it, I do not remember another downpour of rain equal to it. The storm continued throughout the entire day, though severest in the morning when the party were gathering.

By eleven o'clock all those expected had arrived, and the Conference began, under Mr. Whitney's direction. The men all knew each other and the conditions they had met to discuss: so there was no waste of time. Each man made a report for his own State and for others within his knowledge. All available information was laid freely before the Conference. Thus, there was no concealment, no inside ring, nothing but a desire to get at the real truth of the situation.

It was assumed that the organization of the convention which was to meet in Chicago twelve days later was the first business in hand. The make-up of the Committee on Credentials was considered and its constitution settled so far as its dominating members were concerned. Then came the Committee on Resolutions, deemed the most vital: the ruling membership of which was not only considered but settled. The same process completed, on the same principles, the constitution of the Committee on Permanent Organization. Naturally, the first contest was certain to be precipitated over the temporary organization, and, in order to deal with this problem, the attitude of the National Committee was thoroughly canvassed. It was then in order to settle upon the Temporary Chairman, about which there was no question. William L. Wilson of West Virginia, himself a member of the Conference, was chosen.

When the members sat down to luncheon about one o'clock the question of the Presidency of the convention had been reached. There was no time to sus-

pend business, and so the only roll-call of the day came upon this question, at table, when ex-Governor James E. Campbell of Ohio was chosen.

The Vice-Presidency was not even so much as mentioned.

This routine disposed of, the really important business of the day was taken up: that of making the Conference a permanent body until the close of the Chicago Convention, or at least until Mr. Cleveland's nomination had been assured. In order to effect this object, the roll of the unrepresented States was called. A general discussion was held about the members who should be added, from unrepresented States, at the next meeting of the Conference—already fixed for eight o'clock on June 17, at Mr. Whitney's rooms in the Hotel Richelieu in Chicago. As each new member was chosen, some one in attendance was held responsible for his presence, and this process was continued until all the vacancies were filled. After this the nominating speeches were taken into account, the men who should make them were chosen, arrangements were made for Headquarters in Chicago, and the preliminary Conference was at an end.

This important meeting was never heard of by the newspapers either before it took place or afterward. From that day to this I have never seen any notice of its existence—to say nothing of its proceedings. It was a fitting close to a campaign which had been carried on for nearly three years without any of the methods of the brass-band. Both were conducted to promote a result thoroughly understood beforehand and in which personal elements and the ambitions of the individuals engaged were negligible quantities.

XI

When the Conference met at the Hotel Richelieu on Friday evening, June 17—after formally opening its rooms at the Palmer House—it had representatives from about twenty States, and, while probably no event was then so fully assured as was Mr. Cleveland's nomination, his friends resolved to take up the task of organization just as if they were beginning anew.

At the first meeting, Adlai E. Stevenson, soon to be nominated for Vice-President, was Chairman, and George F. Parker was Secretary throughout with power to name an assistant, for which place Edward J. McDermott of Kentucky was chosen. The roll of States was called; each man present reported upon the conditions in his jurisdiction, and, if asked, did the same for neighboring States which had no representative present. No conjectures were taken, no surmises or guesses would pass muster, and no stump speeches were made. When the evening's session was over, it disclosed about three hundred sure delegates for Cleveland in less than half the States.

Arrangements were then made for bringing to the next meeting men from still other States: but it was done with system. No element of the haphazard played a part in it. All the participants, as well as any others known to be safe, were assigned specific work for the next day. By their own desire, none of the Anti-Snapper delegates was invited to the Conference, but report was made about their work among the State delegations.

The next evening the Conference met with representatives from probably ten more States. When the

roll was called, no attention was paid to the results recorded at the preceding meeting, but account was taken of all changes, whether favorable or unfavorable. It was then that Mr. Whitney—in that positive way he had when all his powers were enlisted—began to enforce with rigor the necessity for absolute certainty. He would have no conjectures or probabilities or perhapses, and the secretaries would record only those about which there was absolute assurance with no chance of change. With this rigorous policy sometimes the weaker, who were also, generally speaking, the more enthusiastic members, would become discouraged,—though all would go to work with renewed determination.

At the third meeting, Sunday night, practically every State was represented and Mr. Whitney became more and more insistent upon the rigor of the game, with the result that our numbers showed a reduction in some States, though an increase in the total. The leader, usually the perfection of suavity and good nature, was inclined to be irritable, and many a man of high reputation found himself brought to book if he hesitated or speculated. No one seemed to think of expressing an opinion of the final result, although there was none who did not feel perfectly certain of success. This function was Mr. Whitney's, and he was silent and grim, centred upon the work of the moment as if life, reputation, and fortune were at stake. It is seldom that, in one's association with men, he finds such concentration as Mr. Whitney's, united with a force of character which, for the time, marks the commander dealing with a crisis and compelling obedience from even the strongest and most ambitious.

This session was not the most encouraging, so far as enthusiasm went, but it was the most tense and, on the

whole, the most effective because it showed, at the right time, both the strength and the weakness of our cause, and also brought out more distinctly the strong qualities of the leader who was sitting there without question at the head of a company of leaders.

Monday was to be the important day in the history of the Conference. The National Committee was to meet and pass upon the first of the proposals, made in New York, and never again doubted or put to vote: the selection of a Temporary Chairman. After reaching Chicago, virtually no attention had been given to this question. The attitude of the delegates was deemed the one important matter. At the meeting of the National Committee, Colonel Watterson of Kentucky—one of its members and a delegate-at-large outside the Cleveland lines, distrusted and opposed at every turn by Mr. Whitney and the Conference—proposed for Chairman the name of an unknown Kentucky delegate, and represented that he was the choice of the Cleveland supporters, and the Committee chose him in opposition to Mr. Wilson.

There was natural indignation among the members of the Conference and their friends, not because of defeat, but because it had come from a deception known to be deliberate, which, if overlooked, might mean mischief: but its real effect was to spur on to renewed effort. When the fourth session met at night, there was a feeling in favor of taking the matter into open convention, and this policy was proposed by Mr. Whitney himself. It produced practically the only discussion held during the Chicago meetings of this volunteer body, and it was disposed of through its withdrawal by the proposer himself. Governor Campbell then declined to have his name presented for the Presidency of the convention,

and Mr. Wilson was chosen by the Committee on Permanent Organization.

At the last meeting the same policy was pursued, except that as the roll-call proceeded the sentiment of each State delegation was discussed more in detail. When the result was once recorded there was no review of it and no change of votes. Slowly, State by State, the estimate was made, and when, at its close, the figures showed about six hundred votes for Mr. Cleveland on the first ballot, Mr. Whitney threw himself back in his chair and, with obvious relief and satisfaction, said: "Well, that will do. There is no longer any doubt of the result, and no further question in my mind." It was about one o'clock on Tuesday morning when this conclusion was reached, and the long, hard fight was over, so far as the Cleveland Conference was officially concerned.

XII

DURING each day the official Cleveland Headquarters were open at the Palmer House from early morning until long after the return of the managing forces from the meetings of the Conference. The leaders were always on hand so that I or my assistant could reach them in the order of their need—Mr. Whitney being held in reserve. However, this often meant that he would see delegates or visitors who merely wanted to pay their respects: anything like seclusion being foreign to him in such an emergency. When I needed supplies I bought them and made requisition upon Mr. Whitney's secretary for the money. Among other expenditures was $2000 for buttons, badges, flags, and other souvenirs for which we had made no provision. In

the matter of money for expenses, Mr. Whitney was liberal, and, as he would permit no others to share them, the cost to him of this one week's campaign, going to Chicago, returning, and while there, was about $5000.

Apropos of that liberality, verging upon lavishness, which distinguished Mr. Whitney, a story is told that, some years later, he met in Paris a rich man who had been nibbling at the Democratic nomination for Governor of New York. When his advice was asked he gave it freely: "Why, of course you ought to run. Go ahead, make your preliminary canvass, and when you have put up $200,000 or more, you will have become so much interested that you will go ahead and spend some money."

He wanted results and did not care for money except for the pleasure of spending it, and of achieving his objects: but where his money went, his heart, his work, his power of concentration went with it. I never so much as heard him suggest bad or questionable uses of money in politics, but, by throwing himself into the scale, he could do more with one dollar than another man would do with five. This was shown in the resulting campaign, in which there was a small but effective staff. The trifling amounts spent at Chicago and before going had generated a momentum which no after expenditure could create and nothing on the other side could resist.

XIII

The history of the Convention of 1892 is well known, and I shall not presume to rewrite it. But there is one feature in it to which sufficient attention has never been

paid. On Wednesday afternoon and night, that most dreary of all American political proceedings—the speeches naming candidates for the Presidency—went steadily on, one voice after another being lost or drowned in the attempt to make itself heard. The call of States had been completed and the doleful performance seemed to be at an end, in the thunder and lightning incident to a weird storm outside, and in spite of the floods of water that came through the roof of a fragile wigwam.

It was thought that everything, pro and con, had been said, when just after midnight there came a shrill cry from the New York delegation, a man—with a real or feigned unwillingness—made his way up the crowded aisles, and amid mingled shouts of approval and demands for the roll of States, William Bourke Cockran claimed recognition. A hush fell upon the crowd, and even the swaying storm seemed hushed. The speaker began in a low, clear voice that made itself heard in the remotest limits of the eager crowd. Its first word was a challenge to a body of men who had made up their minds. But, without pause, the orator went on, with wit and pathos, with pleading and prediction, with sarcasm and irony—never with abuse or denunciation—with the utmost audacity, but always in taste, now with a rising inflection, then with a low, almost piteous appeal, until, when the clock had nearly marked half-past one in the morning, he concluded and walked to his seat on the floor.

It was without doubt one of those masterful displays of sustained elocution sometimes made in a national convention. It was little less than marvelous that such a speech, delivered to 15,000 people of whom ninety-five per cent. were unsympathetic, could com-

mand a hearing just as the pent-up excitement of a week of bitter contest had reached its highest development.

From the floor of the convention a delegate moved the call of States, and, without a word of answer or of protest, the voting began. Thousands kept tally, and it soon became apparent that not a man in the Cleveland column had wavered. When the vote of the last Territory had been recorded, the tally was made up, and the president of the convention announced that Grover Cleveland had received 616⅓ votes, oratory had registered the most humiliating failure of our national history.

CHAPTER X

CAMPAIGN MANAGEMENT

I

MR. CLEVELAND was enough of a politician not to neglect his own interests after he had been nominated, and he had too much of this character to be continually interfering with the chosen management.

In the essentials, where the ordinary political manager fails, he was a leader; but, when it came to details, to the routine of this or that formal duty, he seldom interfered. He would discuss with his friends who might be or ought to be the chairman of a national committee, or the routine manager of what is known as the Campaign or Executive Committee; but, when the larger ideas were properly dealt with, he did not think that it either became him or was necessary that he should know or care how every petty thing was done. A secretary, or the head of some bureau, important in his own eyes, and perhaps even in those of the management, was almost certain to be unknown to Mr. Cleveland for the reason that he did not deem such a post important.

In management, as in other great affairs in life, he did not allow the trees to obscure his view of the forest

of which they were a part. As he understood the people, he did not think it was possible to fool them very long either by names or by any thimblerigging process. He had never been the creature of management, and so he did not permit it to pose as his creator. Reason and experience taught him that, after all, a candidate of dignity and character must go his own way and not put himself unreservedly into the hands of some committee.

II

In spite of the strong, underlying sentiment which had forced the nomination, the question of management was not entirely free from difficulty. He had been nominated without assistance from the machine of his own State, and yet the opposing elements in it had to be considered. As party men, they had acquiesced, but there was an undertone of surliness. Mr. Cleveland would make no overtures, and as for promises or pledges, he would not make these to his friends, much less to those who had opposed him to the bitter end. He could conciliate where a principle was involved only by thus convincing opposition that compromise, which to his mind was often synonymous with surrender, did not enter into his character.

In spite of the impetus it had received, the campaign for the election moved along slowly. The machine was much smaller than usual, so that the Headquarters in Fifth Avenue, with the seventy-five or eighty members of its staff, contrasted strangely with the vast number employed at the Republican Headquarters, and still more so with the three hundred or three hundred and fifty who trod upon each other's heels in the Parker cam-

paign twelve years later. Few of the usual political bounders—who, it has seemed to me, must rest for the four years between jobs—were to be found drawing money in 1892. Some petty jealousies at the top were composed by Mr. Cleveland, who was a successful peacemaker in such cases.

The State Committee of New York was thought to be more or less backward, and some men distasteful to Mr. Cleveland came to the front. For a time he was critical, but he never interfered, and it must be said that the men whom he most suspected proved efficient in the work of commanding the vote of the State. They were politicians and they wanted fair treatment, and when they had received assurances—which they ought not to have needed—that there were to be no reprisals, they worked with a fidelity which made them in later years such strong friends and supporters that Mr. Cleveland freely admitted that he had been mistaken. But, after he had eaten his celebrated dinner with the dissatisfied elements at the Victoria Hotel, when, by main force and that positiveness which knew no defeat, he had so conquered as to extort from Richard Croker the confession, "I think the Old Man is right," everything was plain sailing so far as faithful management by the leaders and support by their following were concerned.

There were the usual money difficulties at one stage of the campaign, but these were overcome. He did not return to New York until later, but kept in close touch with public sentiment, and also impressed his opinions upon the management through the visits of trusted friends to Buzzard's Bay. The yacht *Oneida,* Commodore Benedict in command, made many an unheralded voyage out of New York on Saturdays, and

even the fact that it had found anchorage in Massachusetts waters the following morning was not always reported in the newspapers.

To a degree far less than usual were the drum and trumpet sounded. Mr. Cleveland made the response to the notification speech, which had then become an important feature in a Presidential campaign, before a great assembly at Madison Square Garden but no other public appearance. His letter of acceptance and a short letter in which he rebuked, with great severity, a proposed woman's club auxiliary movement, were his only declarations. He issued no pronunciamentos or statements affirming one report or denying another. But that steady stream of letters which had stood him in stead during the Presidential interim never stopped. He probably knew the trend of sentiment better than any member of the National Committee.

III

On the second Saturday before the election, he sent for me to come to his house. I found him deeply interested, and he said:

> Stevenson has not yet written any letter of acceptance, and now I have trustworthy information to the effect that the Republicans are coming out in a great exposure, all along the line, in this coming week, of his supposed record, more than twenty years ago, as a greenbacker. I know how sound his opinions are; but it is necessary for us to meet this threatened movement by spiking our opponents' guns. Stevenson promised me yesterday that he would write this letter, but he has left town without doing it, and has

> gone either to Charlestown or to Charleston, West Virginia, I don't know which, to make speeches. Now, I know it is a hard journey, but I want you to find out where he is, start this afternoon, and get his letter out at the earliest moment. Perhaps [he said in something of an aside, although we were alone] when you are on the train, in order to save time, it might be well for you to prepare something by way of suggestion!

This errand, although it seemed simple, when I took the earliest train for the capital of West Virginia, involved 1200 miles of travel. As soon as I was seated in the Pullman car I bethought me of Mr. Cleveland's suggestion, and, taking out a pad, before reaching Trenton I had written a tentative Vice-Presidential letter of acceptance. It was strong on sound money and the tariff, with incidental treatment of other questions then current, and ran, perhaps, to four hundred words.

Upon arrival at Charleston the next day about noon, and after further revision of the letter, I was met at the station by the candidate for Vice-President, the Governor of West Virginia, the chairman of the State Committee, and divers other politicians of position. When, in reply to a question about my errand, I told Mr. Stevenson that I had come for his letter of acceptance, he replied: "Yes, I thought as much." On the way up to his hotel, he took me apart, where it was possible to speak, and asked: "Did you happen to think of writing anything on the way down?" With some verbal changes suggested by myself, the draft was accepted. Dovetailed with it as a conclusion was an extract from one of the candidate's recent speeches on the Force Bill. In this way the letter was made. A type-writer operator

was found, fair copies were made, and filed by seven o'clock in the evening with the press associations which had received notice at their central offices.

The midnight train carried me back to New York, and, by the time of my return, in every newspaper in the United States there had appeared the letter of acceptance which spiked the Republican guns so completely that the greenback record never was heard of again. This incident will show how keen Mr. Cleveland was, as a politician, when principle was involved, and how quickly his mind grasped all the necessary details on such occasions.

IV

On election night, November 8, when both the telegraph companies installed instruments in Mr. Cleveland's house, 12 West Fifty-first Street, all the officers of the committee resorted thither, so that the regular Headquarters were left in due time to minor employees and their friends. As the returns came in, favorably from beginning to end, the number of friends increased with each succeeding hour. About twelve o'clock, the clamorous, swaying crowd of people outside made it desirable that Mr. Cleveland should say a few words to dismiss them for the night. This was done with a dignity, an impressiveness, a seriousness, and, with all, a readiness which showed his ability to speak well without preparation.

More and more of those who had borne the heat and burden of the day kept coming to the house, so that until perhaps three o'clock the dining-room was kept open for a final reunion. Mr. Cleveland's manner was grave, thoughtful, and silent. He was no doubt turn-

ing over in his mind that saying of his so often used as an answer to those who, not knowing him well, were wont to express at odd times and places, the hope that he would accept a third nomination: "Sir, it is a solemn thing to be President of the United States." As the party broke up, one friend or associate after another left with regret, until, when Colonel Lamont had gone, Mr. Cleveland and I were left alone. Then at four o'clock in the morning his parting word at the door was: "Well, Parker, none of these men or all of them together know or realize as you and I do how this thing has been done."

Thus there closed, in victory at every point—in conventions, State and national, in elections, in States never before carried for the Democratic party, but, best of all, in a friendly and responsive public sentiment everywhere—perhaps the most remarkable of all the personal campaigns ever conducted under the workings of free government. The work had been done in behalf of a man—without the magnetism supposed to be a necessity—who was indifferent to his own promotion or advancement, with an individual ambition already satisfied, and with little of that love of power for its own sake which so often moves men.

V

My own position was never personal, was accidental in its opportunity, which, as it had come without thought or seeking, must be met without ambition or aspiration for recognition or individual preferment. It was a work of love, without requital or the thought of possibility of it. For more than two years of its course,

it was without even so much as the contribution of a postage-stamp to the small expenses incurred. When mentioned for this place or that, on the National Committee or in the management, or when tenders were made of such places, they were persistently declined because they would have interfered with the task in hand by arousing animosities as well as by reducing the ability to keep down jealousy or competition. When it was all over, Mr. Cleveland had perhaps paid out about $125—the cost of printing the slips of his speeches—and my own money outlay had probably amounted to $40 or $50 for postage and other petty expenses.

At the end of that time, when the uncertain little rill of public favor had become a resistless torrent, it could be said that we had hit no foul blow; had made no claims that were not fully justified; no demagogic word or sentence had been spoken; no abuse of opponents or neglect of friends could be imputed; idea and principle had been behind every policy or movement; no conception of debauching the suffrage had even found suggestion or thought; while no bitter enmities had been aroused and no serious jealousies encountered.

After these three years of effort, the President-elect could come to his high office without an unpaid obligation and with the assurance that he had always given more than he had taken. Is there any cause for wonder that he became President for the second time on March 4, 1893, the most loftily independent man whose fortune it has been, thus far in our annals, to deliver an inaugural address in the open air at the east front of the Capitol? Or is there any more reason, on the other hand, for surprise that henceforward, during four years of anxiety and dread, he should have been the most lonely figure in our history?

CHAPTER XI

MAKING THE SECOND CABINET

I

When the election was over, I had thought to drop out of political work. It was both uncongenial and unprofitable. But my release was not yet to come. At once the task of forming a Cabinet was taken up: in fact, the time for doing this is always comparatively short, everything considered.

The same old difficulty of dealing with the press came up for settlement. Mr. Cleveland simply would not consent to see representatives of the newspapers or press associations, day by day, and to tell them what he had done or had in mind. So it came back to the old plan of asking Colonel Lamont's advice. At his suggestion and with the ready assent of the President-elect, it was arranged that I should form a news-syndicate, so that each day, when there was anything to publish, it would be given out to my papers with authority.

It was interesting and remunerative, but it made me, for the time, an unpopular and reprobated person in newspaper offices other than the few whose editors had made arrangements to get the news. It had the compensation, however, of putting me into even closer and more continuous association than before with Mr. Cleveland. Every day, Sundays excepted, I went to his

house and reviewed the situation in its changes or developments. With the exception of two, no man's name was considered for a Cabinet place who had not come before us during the preceding three years. Most of them had served in our little improvised volunteer army.

II

THREE days after the election I spent the whole afternoon with Mr. Cleveland going over the field and discussing the foundations, not yet laid, of the Cabinet. He had evidently reached a decision in only a single case. He had made up his mind to tender the Treasury Department to John G. Carlisle, then Senator from Kentucky, for whom his admiration was unusually strong. On this occasion he said:

> I believe that this is not only the very best selection that could be made for this office at such a vital time, but in this one instance I am willing to look ahead. You know me well enough to know that I care nothing for the perpetuation of personal power and do not often think of it; but our party has just come back with a striking victory, as the result of which it ought to maintain its hold for many years to come. It cannot do this if it enters upon its new duties in a haphazard sort of way. So, in thinking the matter over, I have reached the conclusion that it would be a wonderful thing if we could look forward to Mr. Carlisle as successor to the Presidency in the term to follow mine. I realize how dangerous this is, and that both history and precedent are against its success, but as I look at it now it seems to be a thing that ought to be kept in mind.

The intention was noble and the motive patriotic, but as one looks back over the history of the period which has intervened, the result of the failure of those plans and the substitution of a policy of ruin is more than pathetic—it is pitiable, as Mr. Cleveland often had occasion to say in referring to it in later years.

III

At this interview, I had occasion to bring forward and to discuss the names of five men fitted to become Mr. Cleveland's advisers. Of these, two declined appointment, and the remainder were sworn into his Cabinet after his second inauguration. Naturally, these suggestions were not made at random. As the conclusion had been reached that no responsible officials in the previous administration should be preferred for the same posts in the second, a good many obvious men were eliminated at once. Only two men, other than Mr. Cleveland, had been voted for in the National Convention, and one of these was on my list as rejecting the tender of office; the other, David B. Hill, was just entering the United States Senate.

This served to increase the keenness of my interest in Cabinet candidates. I was attached first to Mr. Cleveland's personal friends—of whom the late Wilson S. Bissell, standing out from all others, was one of the three to whom allusion has been made—and then to the men who had been most useful in the delicate and persistent campaign of the preceding three years. One of these had suggested it originally, advised in its various steps for the first two years, and had only dropped out because of ill health, which made it necessary for him to go abroad.

When I suggested the name of Daniel S. Lamont for appointment as Secretary of War, I could see that Mr. Cleveland had not thought of it, so that it came to him as a genuine surprise. "Why," he replied, "the Colonel would command more influence in his old place as private secretary than he could possibly have in the Cabinet." As, personally, I was deeply interested in my suggestion because, of my own knowledge, I knew that Colonel Lamont would take nothing below a Cabinet office and that he was averse even to that, I replied that while this judgment was highly complimentary, there was such a thing in politics as promotion. Mr. Cleveland said he had not thought of this phase. The subject was never again mentioned, but it was less than a week until the tender was made of this office.

The third name was that of Hoke Smith of Georgia, a stranger to Mr. Cleveland, but one of the most efficient workers in the renomination campaign. In this case, I was enlisted both personally and politically, believing that this recognition of the younger men of the South was no more than just and that the appointment would fully justify itself and satisfy many party and patriotic forces. In my zeal, I visited Justice Lamar in Washington, only a few weeks before his death, and was able to command his hearty coöperation in presenting his friend and fellow-citizen as one of his successors in the office of Secretary of the Interior. When Mr. Smith returned to New York upon a second visit to Mr. Cleveland, he was tendered a place in the Cabinet.

IV

THERE was a strong desire on Mr. Cleveland's part to get a Secretary of the Navy from New England,

but after three declinations the office was tendered to Colonel Hilary A. Herbert of Alabama, who was originally intended for another post, and the Attorney-General, in the person of Mr. Richard Olney, with a strong New York backing, was drawn from New England.

The Secretaryship of State, conferred upon Judge Walter Q. Gresham, was the one surprise of the Cabinet. I have never yet heard of any man to whom Mr. Cleveland had spoken about this office in connection with the appointee, and nobody was ever able to explain how or why he was chosen. The President-elect had found it difficult to get the right man. He was so sorely tempted that, making an exception to his rule, he tendered the place to Mr. Bayard, who strongly advised against his own appointment and declined. The President had done this against his own judgment and as an evidence of his despair. He was really most desirous that the former Secretary of State should become the first United States Ambassador, under the law just then enacted.

V

When the time came to choose a Secretary of Agriculture, it was found that, instead of being one of the easiest Cabinet places to fill, because it was the newest, it was, in reality, the most difficult. Almost without notice, it had assumed a political importance not hitherto suspected. The place was tendered to the late John E. Russell of Massachusetts, with whom the President-elect had been brought into congenial touch during his first term and in the interim. Mr. Russell's health was not firm; so the offer was declined. The next choice was Horace Boies, whose service as Governor of Iowa had just ended. His name had been presented to the Chi-

cago Convention a year before, and, besides, he had been an acquaintance of the President-elect in Buffalo many years previously. His age, combined with some political considerations, led him to decline.

Both these refusals had been rather anticipated, and so the one name held in reserve was that of J. Sterling Morton of Nebraska, whose enemies were nearly as active as his friends. As an old friend of Mr. Morton, I was requested to sound certain of the anti-silver Democrats of the West, of whom he was a recognized leader. The two men had never met, but it was soon made clear to Mr. Cleveland that he was considering the name of a man who, for the lifetime of a generation, had done yeoman service in the West, both for sound money and for tariff revision along liberal lines. However, in the factional divisions in his State, Mr. Morton had actively opposed Mr. Cleveland's nomination in 1884, uniting with it some personal bitterness. When this was mentioned to the President, he threw the charge aside with contempt, saying: "We cannot afford, in this crisis, when, if ever, such men are needed, to let personal considerations enter into account. Under no circumstances, will I, in this case or any other, allow them to influence my opinion or action."

After the appointment had been tendered and accepted, Mr. Morton came to New York, and I had the pleasure of introducing them at the Lakewood cottage in which Mr. Cleveland stayed for a time before going to Washington. The two men were not only associated officially during the second administration, but became intimate friends. No more pertinent illustration than this ever came to my attention of Mr. Cleveland's ability to discard personal prejudice, although there were others like unto it.

VI

WHILE the work of Cabinet construction was under way, many petitions and letters came to the President-elect in favor of active but little-known men who could hardly be said to have reached the unquestioned rank which would entitle them to consideration. In two or three such instances Mr. Cleveland would say: "Now, if I were only free to tender the Commissionership of Pensions or of Patents, or any important independent office, to this man, what a comfort it would be to me and what a benefit to the public service: but a place in the Cabinet is impossible, and so it is probable that I cannot avail myself of his obvious fitness for some important office." In one or two cases, notably that of Judge Lochren of Minnesota, he was able to carry this policy into effect; but when the demand was made for a Cabinet appointment or nothing, it was, of necessity, the latter.

Among the letters received from individuals one of the most interesting, in every way, was from John P. Irish of California, of whom mention has been made in these recollections. It was written on January 30, 1893, and forwarded to me, with directions to present or not, as might seem fitting. After explaining that Democrats in the legislatures of Oregon, Idaho, and Wyoming, on their own motion, had officially indorsed him to Mr. Cleveland for Secretary of the Interior and that those in the California Legislature proposed, with his approval, to do the same, the letter continued:

> I have declined assent to this, and, as the action taken in other States may reach you, it seems proper to say that I have felt that candidacy, in the current meaning thereof, for a place

in your official family is not becoming, and that the discussion of my name in that connection by the press here and elsewhere and the other acts, no doubt suggested thereby, are volunteered entirely; and, so far as they seem to make me a candidate, are not in line with my own sense of propriety; though as evidences of confidence, good feeling and friendship they impress me as they should any man who loves appreciation of his efforts for a good cause.

Proceeding, the letter paid Mr. Cleveland the following tribute, which, when read to him, drew tears:

Fifty and more years ago, when the Western prairies were untracked, the way across them from one post to another was sometimes marked by a deep furrow, plowed under contract by some stout pioneer. Half a century later, I have found these furrows still plainly marked, and there has risen before me again the team, the plow, and the plowman drawing the guiding mark through a wilderness.

After we are all gone, men will pause by the furrow you are to make in the history of our country and will say, "Here the plowman passed, and time toils in vain to conceal his furrow." My friend, you are selecting your team, but you and no other must hold the plow. If I should go into history as one who helped to pull it, I should be glad, but I shall have always the pleasure of believing in the plowman and knowing that the furrow is to endure.

VII

If I were asked to name the one public man in whom, of all others outside his official associates, Mr. Cleveland reposed most confidence and for whom he had the deepest admiration, I should have no hesitation. It would be William L. Wilson of West Virginia. Coming into relations with him when the tariff question was forced to the front in 1887, he recognized at once the comprehensive knowledge of this mountain college pro-

fessor, whose most important schooling came from his boyish service in the Confederate army.

It would have been impossible for anybody even to meet Mr. Wilson without coming under the spell of that charm which, with all his ability and information, was his distinguishing characteristic. These two men were so widely different in origin, training, and experience that it could only have been the attractive power of opposites that could have drawn them together. In any event, so far as the President was concerned, William L. Wilson was soon added to the intellectual group made up of men in the Cabinet, with John G. Carlisle, Roger Q. Mills, Clifton R. Breckinridge, John E. Russell, William D. Bynum, and others of the same type, who, in both House and Senate, had borne the heat and burden of the day in the discussion of the Mills Bill, which was the outcome of the message of 1887, or in the discussion outside both Houses of Congress.

During the interim between Presidential terms, when the discussion was going on all over the country, until it assumed the proportions of a great moral agitation, Mr. Cleveland still maintained his relations with Mr. Wilson, so far as was consistent with the separation incident to distance. He insisted upon keeping him to the front when great public occasions were under discussion, and his friends, knowing this and sharing his admiration, made Wilson the President of the Chicago Convention of 1892, in spite of some disinclination on his own part, because of bad health and physical unfitness for a post of such requirements. Just on the eve of his departure for Washington for his second inauguration, Mr. Cleveland, with a suddenness not unusual with him when a new idea came into his mind, said one day:

"Parker, do you know what I would do with William L. Wilson if I could?" Confessing my ignorance of mind-reading, I naturally replied that, of course, I did not know. "Well, I will tell you," he continued. "I would appoint him Assistant to the President, with a salary of $10,000 a year. As the executive office is now organized it can deal, with a fair amount of efficiency, with the routine affairs of Government; but if the President has any great policy in mind or on hand he has no one to help him work it out. Yes, I tell you that, while I should hate to take Wilson out of Congress, I would make him my Assistant if I could. I have even half a notion to offer him the place anyhow and pay him out of my own pocket."

If the world had known this high esteem of the man there would have been no surprise that Mr. Cleveland was so interested in both the man and the statesman as to pay the last tribute of respect by going a long distance to his funeral and by the activity that he showed in raising money for an appropriate memorial to his friend at Washington and Lee University. On both sides it was one of the most unselfish of the many friendships it has been my privilege to observe in a life which has brought me in contact with many hundreds of public characters.

VIII

During the protracted consideration of the names presented, from every quarter, for high honors, the President-elect would often, in moments of leisure or during a discussion, give me his ideas not only of the qualities necessary for the individual men to be chosen for high

executive posts, but also, incidentally, of his judgment of the educative power of our institutions. From his various conversations on these subjects I condense the following expression of opinion:

> While it is an absolute necessity, under our traditions, for a President-elect to take the greatest pains in balancing party position and considerations, State of residence, and to bear in mind that his Cabinet associates must have capacity for executive work, I am not at all sure that these always produce the best results. It strikes the public imagination to choose men who have been governors of their States, or United States Senators, or active in party management; but it often turns out that these men are taken away from something they know, to which they have come by gradual steps, only to discover that it is difficult for them to adjust themselves to those national problems which, although they may not be larger or more important, are, at least, entirely different from those to which they have been accustomed.

He confidently believed that, if precedent only permitted it, and he had the time, he could get a perfectly competent Attorney-General in the county-seat of any county with which he was familiar. "I should not hesitate," he added, "in case of necessity, to put myself and the office into the hands of the best country lawyer in these towns. And the same conclusion applies to any other Cabinet department, unless it might be those of the State and Treasury, where some special knowledge and even experience are desirable."

At another time, when emphasizing this idea in a way he liked to do, he said:

> To me this is the best possible evidence of the success of our system of self-government. So long as we can go out and, by seeking, find, almost anywhere, men with the fundamental qualities for carrying out our political ideas, there is little likelihood that any overmastering man will ever become either a necessity or be able to command sufficient power to make himself a danger to our institutions. It is this sense of individual capacity, verified by its public discovery when needed, that is the sheet-anchor of our safety.

It always seemed to me, when listening to these unusual opinions, that I could read the mind of the speaker and trace their genesis to the modest career of the Buffalo lawyer who rose in just two years from active professional work to be President-elect of the United States, which, as I once told him, seemed to me the quickest and most amazing rise to permanent power and influence seen in history.

IX

The new Cabinet did not strike the public imagination so favorably as that chosen in the first administration. On the whole, it was probably stronger as a body, looked at from the point of view of executive ability. But the Cabinet had so receded in relative importance, in the public mind, that the President had become the one man to whom the country looked. Some of the new men were to demonstrate a breadth of outlook and to gain the confidence both of the President and the country.

The series of crises through which the new administration was to pass, from the first day of its life to the

last, made it impossible for the President to devote that attention to minor affairs which had formerly characterized him, and thus compelled him to give larger authority to his chosen advisers. He could no longer either do or supervise all the work. Besides, although the tenure had not been continuous, the second administration did have the benefit of the precedents established by the first. In the verdict of history, the latter must take a rank incomparably higher than the former: but this would have been impossible if the first had not set the limits both of the President's policy and of his capacity for work. Every man knew what he must do and that, if he did not, the President himself would undertake and carry it out in some way or other.

CHAPTER XII

SOME FOREIGN CONDITIONS

I

FROM what I have already said, it will be understood that it was no part of my purpose to take a place in the public service under Mr. Cleveland. I was especially determined that under no possible circumstances would I accept anything in Washington; but Colonel Lamont insisted that I should be appointed to some position, and, without my knowledge, so interested himself with the President-elect that, well along towards the Inauguration Day, the latter, in his office one day, said with his usual bluntness: "Parker, the Colonel tells me I ought to tender you some position. You know my attachment for you, but I do think it is a shame that you should be asked to take an office. The pay is inadequate, the tenure uncertain, and the effect often hurtful to the appointee. Men like you and John P. Irish ought to be editing Democratic newspapers somewhere at salaries of $10,000 or $15,000 a year."

As I had never brought up the matter and the President did not mention it, it was not again referred to until some time after the inauguration. In the meantime, I had declined three assistant secretaryships, ten-

dered by prospective Cabinet officers, and the head of one of the most important bureaus. Colonel Lamont—by this time Secretary of War—had insisted upon my appointment as Consul to Manchester, and the President thought he had met his wishes. He was only convinced of his mistake when, sending for the official nomination papers, he discovered that I had been accredited to Birmingham—a substitution for which I have always thanked the Department of State, because thereby I was enabled to renew some associations of earlier life.

Birmingham was an interesting and desirable United States consulate. It was free, then as now, from sailors, tramps, and professional tourists—the three pests of the consular service. Its work was responsible without being arduous, its people were more receptive to American influences of the best type than in most other places in the service, and its relation to the miscellaneous metal trades gave it a perpetual interest for the student of economic questions. Its social and literary traditions were of a high order and closely related to America, while its kaleidoscopic politics gave it an interest which enabled an American to study conditions in England at the most suggestive point.

II

Although far removed from the President, I did not lose touch with public affairs—not even the attentions of the office-seekers were wanting. When the various campaigns were over, it was easy to foresee that more or less pressure would be brought upon the President through me. So I insisted that under no circumstances

would I have anything to do with the ever-present patronage. Our relations had enabled him to command all the information in my possession, and so he had no need for my opinion in addition to his own. This view pleased him, because he was always making apology to his real friends when he had occasion to trouble them about the minor offices.

In spite of these precautions, many applications came through me; they even followed me to Birmingham by cable. Still, except when my opinion was asked, the agreement was in full force, and it was, perhaps, fortunate for my own peace of mind that involuntary exile had been accepted.

I maintained relations, by letter, with my leading political associates in about twenty States. I was especially desirous of doing everything possible in the silver crisis, which was always in the President's mind. As an effect, I was able to treat the question in the English papers and thus to contribute something to foreign sentiment about the changing conditions. I heard directly from the President, oftener than there was any reason to expect, and indirectly through five or six members of his Cabinet.

III

For a wonder—when the explosive character of some of the elements in our population is considered—no sort of debatable question concerning our diplomatic relations with England arose until the administration had run more than half its course. Thomas F. Bayard, our first Ambassador, had, within a year of his arrival at his post, made himself better liked, perhaps, than any other foreigner that England has welcomed in her

later history. Even the Prince of Wales, now King, always well liked, was never more cordially popular among any class of his future subjects than was the American Ambassador. His ability and grace fitted so well into the English character that no public occasion was complete without his presence and an address from him. Everywhere he went, it was hands across the sea; the brotherhood of a common origin, ancestry, and traditions; and likeness in language, literature, arts, and life —until the air was full of peace and good will.

That trouble was brewing was well illustrated by the following letter written to me by Mr. Bayard:

83, Eaton Square, S. W.,
May 25, 1895.

Dear Mr. Parker:

I had seen, but not so much *in extenso,* the outburst of jealous and hostile suspicions of Great Britain in which our friend —— has just indulged in his excited vaticinations. I must oppose the best opinion I can form, after some years of close and careful consideration—during which I have been largely charged with the relations of our own country towards the outer world—and I can discern no just cause of dissension between the United States and Great Britain, and no intent or purpose of the latter inimical to the happiness, honor, and prosperity of our own.

There is no territorial possession of Great Britain in the Western Hemisphere which is not anterior in date to the formation of the United States. Halifax, Bermuda, and San Lucia were all earlier, and so of the Spanish Main, in which the three Guianas are included. The increasing and accelerated armaments of Europe compel Great Britain to a fearful expenditure upon her navy, and her coaling station at San Lucia is one of the very few defensible sites in the West India Islands. But there is no question now open between the United States and Great Britain that needs any but frank, amicable, and just treatment.

I deprecate these appeals to excitement and unfounded resentments, and I am at a loss to account for them in a quarter I had supposed was wholly friendly to Mr. Cleveland's administration. We have serious problems enough within our borders to spare us the necessity of manufacturing others without.

Seldom in the world's history has one man been more plainly the instrumentality of great service to his country than Mr. Cleveland. It is difficult to measure the dangers which his sagacious and steadfast courage has averted.

Sincerely yours,

T. F. BAYARD.

Hon. Geo. F. Parker,
United States Consul,
Birmingham.

All at once, and without warning, the storm broke. In the middle of December, 1895, the President sent to Congress his message about the boundary lines, long in question, between Venezuela and British Guiana, and announced, in terms neither mild nor inside the language usual to diplomacy, that, without further delay, the whole dispute must be submitted to arbitration.

The sentiment—so friendly as to have in it some of the qualities of gush—suddenly changed, and an American in England, from the Ambassador down to the humblest citizen, found himself in an atmosphere highly charged with suspicion, and, in many cases, with enmity. The press broke forth in denunciation, talk was heard of the necessity for the mobilization of the army and other war preparations, while diplomatic relations were as good as suspended until the passing storm of obloquy and misunderstanding was over. It was soon clear that, even in an official position, quiet and retirement were the best palliatives to an excitement which could not long maintain itself. Within a month, came the

telegram of the Emperor William of Germany to President Kruger of the Transvaal Republic, and the worst, so far as the United States were concerned, was over, although a good deal of strong feeling still remained.

IV

THERE was in Birmingham an organization known as the Dramatic and Literary Club, and one of its principal functions was to celebrate each year the birthday of Shakespeare. Of this body I had been elected president for the year and had resolved, if possible, to make the annual dinner a conspicuous feature. In November, I had invited Mr. Bayard as the principal guest of the club, and also to undertake a pilgrimage to Stratford-upon-Avon, which lay within my consular district. In December, the Ambassador was seriously doubtful whether or not the excitement would be sufficiently allayed by the arrival of Shakespeare week in April to justify him in attending as he had agreed to do. This is attested by the following letter:

Embassy of the United States,
London, December 31, 1895.

Dear Mr. Parker:

I was out of town when your letter of November 27 arrived. Very soon thereafter a condition of affairs came on which rendered it difficult for me to give you the direct and positive reply to which you were entitled. April 20 was a long way off, and what might occur from day to day it was impossible to foretell. And as matters stand to-day I feel that all plans of enjoyment and pleasant hospitality may be upset and replaced by very different occupations, therefore I accept your suggestion that no harm can come from postponing until the

February meeting of your club the formation of plans for my visit to you in April next.

By the time February arrives the sky may have cleared and present clouds dispersed, and with more cheerful hearts we may meet and greet our British kindred.

I will be most glad to come to Birmingham to view its beautiful and varied industries and look in the faces of its citizens, and this I fully expect to do. At the same time, you can comprehend how much there is to make me feel anxious, for there is too much at stake even in the remote risk of a collision between the nations who are the main guardians under God of the world's civilization.

Sincerely yours,

T. F. BAYARD.

Geo. F. Parker, Esq.,
United States Consul,
Birmingham.

About this time, an informal conference of leading citizens of Birmingham was held during a large public reception given at the house of Joseph Chamberlain, M.P., well known as a friend of America, in which Sir Benjamin Stone, then, as now, M.P. for one of the local divisions of the city, proposed that, without formal organization or advertisement of its purpose, the occasion should be made a demonstration of the essential and deeply seated friendship between the two countries.

Henceforth, all efforts were bent to assure success to this idea, with the result that the annual dinner took on unusual proportions. For the first time, an American presided at a Shakespeare dinner; the Ambassador was at his best; prominent English literary men were among the speakers; the Lord Mayor was supported by leading men gathered from all over the district; and, to crown the proceeding, the toast of the President of the United States was given, in response to which I was able to read the following letter:

Executive Mansion, Washington,
March 30, 1896.

My dear Mr. Parker:

I have received your letter informing me that the Birmingham Dramatic and Literary Club intend to celebrate the birthday of Shakespeare on the 21st of April, and extending to me, on behalf of the club, an invitation to be present on that occasion.

Everything that tends to keep alive the memory of Shakespeare, and preserves a proper appreciation of his work, challenges my earnest interest and approval; and though I cannot be with you on the occasion you contemplate, I am glad to know that our American people are to be prominently represented in the celebration.

There is much said and written, in these days, concerning the relations that should exist, bound close by the strongest ties, between English-speaking peoples, and concerning the high destiny that awaits them in concerted effort. I hope we shall never know a time when these ennobling sentiments will be less often expressed, or will, in the least, lose their potency and influence.

Surely, if English speech supplies the token of united effort for the good of mankind and the impulse of an exalted mission, we do well to fittingly honor the name and memory of William Shakespeare.

Yours very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Hon. George F. Parker,
President, etc., etc.

The newspaper publication and reception were generous and high-minded; *Punch* joined the chorus with a page cartoon; public sentiment responded, and it is safe to say that by eliciting the Shakespeare letter written by President Cleveland on March 30, 1896, something was done to lay the ghost of war and misunderstanding raised by the Venezuela message.

V

With the exception of his action in meeting, with unerring foresight and promptness, the Debs riots in Chicago, nothing in all his public life gave Mr. Cleveland more satisfaction than the message and correspondence about the Venezuela boundary line. It was these that brought him into such close relations with, and gave him such a comprehensive knowledge of, Richard Olney, the first growing out of his duties as Attorney-General and the second from his administration of the Secretaryship of State.

When I returned home in December, 1896, a year after the Venezuela episode, the election had been held which marked the defeat, at least for the time, of free silver and all the other financial isms which had raged, almost unchecked, during the period of a whole generation. He was, naturally, thankful that this had come not only in his time, but as the result of his devotion and courage; but the contest had been so long pending, and the relief to his mind was so great, that, as often happens to men in crises, he spoke little of it. He was, however, deeply concerned about the then closed dispute with England, although he refused thus to narrow it. He looked upon it, then as always, not as a foreign, but as the most distinct of home questions. It had reverberated seemingly like an earthquake: the natural result of forces long existing. They merely came to the surface in his term, and so he had had to meet and deal with them.

VI

It would be an insult to his memory to assert that Mr. Cleveland had anything in him of the Jingo: his whole career is an embodied refutation of a charge so idle as this; but he was essentially American, and he saw that, while we had been talking Monroe Doctrine for more than three quarters of a century, the time had come to act it for at least one representation. He had not been a deep student of foreign opinion, but he did care a great deal for it, and was, not unnaturally, desirous of knowing how his drastic message was viewed in England, after the excitement over it had died down. He saw clearly, even thus early, that he had forever settled the relations which the United States was to bear both to Europe and to South America.

It always seemed to strike him with surprise when, in later years, I told him—apparently in jest, though really in earnest—that he was the father of the spirit of imperialism which had grown up after the war with Spain. He himself had done so much to avert that foolish, unnecessary, and hurtful conflict, that he could scarcely conceive that what he saw was only the logic of his own acts. Whatever the motive, he did realize that the unity of the Western Hemisphere had been so assured that the diverse elements and peoples of which it was composed were certain, thenceforward, to act together with a unity more substantial than any ever known over like areas or among such large and varied populations. He had assured by a single edict, without the intervention of any legislative body, what, at various times in history, during the last thousand years, different governments and peoples in Europe had thought to achieve on the Continent.

It was the more interesting to me because, in a letter written to him from England early in 1893, after seeing for how little the United States then counted in Europe, the hope was expressed that I might live to see the time when we might command at least as much news space in foreign newspapers as was devoted to the affairs of Turkey or Switzerland. My modest wish had come true in less than three years, and it was due entirely to the far-seeing and courageous act of one man.

VII

It was also interesting to hear from Mr. Cleveland's own lips some account of the method by which this end had been reached. It is well known that, when the Venezuela crisis was brewing, he went down the coast on a hunting expedition. The despatch from Lord Salisbury had been received after nearly six months of delay, the whole matter had been carefully gone over, the answer to it decided upon though not written, and the method of its presentation to the country and the world settled.

The details were left to the Secretary of State, of whom the President said to me:

> I had gone away tired out and left the matter wholly in Mr. Olney's hands. I knew how careful and able he was, but I must confess that I was astonished, upon my return, to find how completely he had worked out the reply to Lord Salisbury's despatch. I do not think that, in all my experience, I have ever had to deal with any official document, prepared by another, which so entirely satisfied my critical requirements. It had covered every point in the controversy not only completely but temperately and

in unquestioned good taste from a diplomatic point of view. It was vigorous, but it caught the national spirit perfectly. I have never been able adequately to express my pleasure and satisfaction over this assertion of our position, and the country has never shown that it fairly understood or recognized the debt it owes to Richard Olney.

VIII

From other quarters, that is, from personal friends in the Cabinet, I have gathered, in the intervening years, some of the particulars of the consideration of the despatch to Lord Pauncefote in July, 1895. Colonel Hilary A. Herbert, then Secretary of the Navy, tells me that this important document was prepared by Mr. Olney while he and the President were down on the coast of Massachusetts, receiving its final revision at Mr. Cleveland's summer residence at Buzzard's Bay. It was then sent to all the members of the Cabinet, some three or four of whom were still in Washington, for their suggestions. Some were made, but the secret of the despatch was so well kept that the outside world never had even the smallest hint of its existence until it was sent to Congress along with the accompanying message of December 17, 1895.

The course of the message itself was entirely different. The President had gone off on a hunting excursion, for rest from exacting labors, but mainly in order to find time to think quietly of the matter under consideration. Upon his return he found everything so well prepared that there remained only his part of the work to do, namely, the preparation of the message itself. It

was to be a brief document, but he so realized its importance, as he told me, that he wrote and rewrote it with the greatest care. It may even have been true, as an army officer who accompanied him on the hunting trip says, that the first rough draft was written by Mr. Cleveland with his knee as a table, upon a block of paper which he took from his pocket, while on his hunting trip.

When finished, it was approved by the Secretary of State, but was not submitted to the Cabinet as a body, nor was knowledge of it extended beyond the narrowest limits. This secrecy did not arise from any desire to make the matter a mystery, but it was of such transcendent importance, from a public and business point of view, that the President, with even more than his usual caution, declined to take any chances of publicity.

Just before its transmission—and after the final settlement of its form with the official most interested—the President began to read it to a member close to him in personal confidence as well as in direct interest. This was going forward previous to a regular Cabinet meeting, when a second member unexpectedly made his appearance at the door. Thereupon the reading was halted, the manuscript was hurriedly thrust into a drawer, only commonplace topics were discussed, after which the routine matters incident to the meeting were disposed of. These concluded, the message was again taken up, and, without further change or delay, it went to Congress, to produce that electrical effect, both upon the country and the world, so well known as to require neither emphasis nor description.

When the reading was completed, the President turned to his listener and asked: "Now, what do you think of it?" and getting the reply, "It seems to me that,

towards the end, it is just a little bit tart," he said quickly, shaking his head as he always did when he wanted to put peculiar emphasis upon anything, "That is just what I intended."

IX

The original Secretary of the Interior in the second administration, Hoke Smith, in a letter to me under date of April 3, 1909, has confirmed the impression of Mr. Cleveland's opinion which was made upon his friends both at the time and during the remainder of his life, as to the motive guiding him in his action. He says:

> My recollection of the circumstances connected with Mr. Cleveland's celebrated Venezuelan message is very distinct. He sent it to Congress because he believed that it was the surest way to prevent serious trouble between Great Britain and the United States. Mr. Cleveland earnestly desired peace between all nations, and believed strongly in the adjustment of international disputes by arbitration.
>
> The negotiations between Great Britain and the United States with reference to Venezuela had continued for quite a length of time without bringing satisfactory results, and Mr. Cleveland felt sure that a violation of the Monroe Doctrine would precipitate war between the two countries. He believed that it was necessary to present, upon this subject, such an unmistakable declaration by the United States that Great Britain would realize the danger of war if the Monroe Doctrine was disregarded. He desired most sincerely to preserve friendly relations between our country and Great Britain, as he believed in the coöperation of all the civilized races, and especially of the English-speaking races, in behalf of peace and humanity.
>
> Nothing was further from his purpose than to bring about a collision between Great Britain and the United States. I heard him refer to this message, shortly after he sent it to

Congress, as his "peace message," and as "the only way, in his judgment, to prevent a probable collision between the two nations." I have no doubt that he sent the message to Congress believing that with it the risk of trouble was far less than if diplomatic negotiations continued in the ordinary way.

CHAPTER XIII

LATER CAMPAIGNS—BRYAN AND BRYANISM

I

Upon my return in 1904, after eleven years' absence in England, it was to renew association, in an unexpected way, with Mr. Cleveland. Upon each of the six intervening home visits between 1896 and the opening of the Presidential campaign, I had maintained my relations and always found him absorbed in thought and study of the conditions then surrounding our political life.

It was only natural that he should be thus troubled over the demoralization of the party to which, through a long life, he had given his allegiance and from which he had received high honors. Considerate of changes in most of the departments of our national life, it was difficult for him to use philosophy upon this, the one nearest his heart. When he saw the party lose its regular or occasional footholds in one State after another, and then in the country, without compensating gain, he was solicitous lest, by omission or commission, he might have been responsible for the lack of cohesion.

II

But when he looked about him anew, he was consoled by the certainty that this serious condition was the

natural and inevitable punishment meted out to those abandonments of principle which, to his mind, were nothing less than a breaking of moral laws. He foresaw that this demoralization of one great party covered a state of the public mind, and that the whole of society could not long escape infection. He always insisted that it was fatal to permit special classes to exercise governmental powers for their own enrichment. It was sure to generate feelings of class hatred in those who recognized the existence of conditions inimical to their own interests. Out of this would grow two types of politicians, both harmful: demagogues and opportunists—and with him these were practically synonymous—who would play upon the interests and prejudices of the ignorant or the confiding, and thus produce a crusade out of which would come infinite harm to morals as well as to industry.

With this ingrained feeling, and having time to think, he was deeply interested in the Presidential campaign of 1904. He wanted to do all within his power to promote a return to party sanity in management as well as in principles and candidates. He naturally refused to take any open part in favor of a particular man, but never concealed his belief that Judge George Gray was the logical candidate owing to his many qualities and especially to the fact that he was widely known by reason of having kept himself in close touch with events during the years immediately preceding the campaign.

III

Suggestions had been made from time to time, many months before the opening of the campaign, that Mr.

Cleveland himself might again accept a nomination. His friends, of course, knew that this was impossible, and yet he did not feel called upon to rush into print every time such a rumor was started. To them he was as frank and communicative as ever. Writing to one of the most intimate of them, Kope Elias of North Carolina, he said:

Princeton, January 12, 1903.

KOPE ELIAS, ESQ.

My dear Sir:

Your exceedingly friendly letter came duly to hand. I want you to understand how fully I appreciate your devotion to me, and the readiness you have always shown in championing my interest.

I do not feel as you do, on the subject discussed in your letter; and you must not think it ungracious for me to tell you so. I consider my political life as ended. While I do not feel obliged to tell my thoughts to all who seek to know them, it is only fair and just for me to say, to so good a friend as you, that in present circumstances the idea of another candidacy seems to me to be absolutely out of the question, impossible for every reason, a sufficiently controlling one being the fact that I cannot conceive of a situation which would induce me to accept another nomination.

One of the most ardent hopes of my life is to see our grand party regain the confidence of the people, and again win victories; but my place must hereafter be in the ranks.

This letter is for your personal information, to the end that your friendship for me may not lead you into a position of embarrassment.

Yours very sincerely,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

IV

By the advice of Colonel Lamont, who, owing to his railroad affiliations, desired to keep himself in the background, I visited Princeton a few days after landing and went over the situation pretty fully with Mr. Cleveland. Some tentative suggestions were discussed, in accordance with which he should put out a statement of his views, and I offered to have it distributed to the press. When I reported this to some of my friends, they were desirous that he should be induced to give his advice, publicly, especially concerning the importance of a sound platform, in which they knew him to be profoundly interested. The wishes of these friends were communicated to him, and I received the following reply:

Princeton, April 22, 1904.

My dear Mr. Parker:

I did not remember that anything was said when you were here looking, in a definite way, toward my making a statement in the shape of an interview touching the political situation. I certainly do not want to do so at present. I am satisfied that in every view my silence is best in present circumstances.

If a time should come when I can convince myself that any good purpose would be subserved by a renewed publication of my opinions or sentiments, I certainly would be glad to have your assistance and advice.

The situation would not be improved by anything from me now. I have a great disinclination to appearing too frequently in the newspapers in the rôle of "guide, philosopher, and friend."

Yours very sincerely,

Grover Cleveland.

George F. Parker, Esq.,
New York.

V

Somewhat later, I undertook to sound public sentiment further in respect to the declaration of principles to be made by the St. Louis Convention. There was a general fear that the managers of the movement for the nomination of Judge Parker, in their eagerness to promote the interests of their candidate, might overlook the essentials in the making of the platform. So I kept myself in pretty close relations with Mr. Cleveland, in the hope that he might declare himself upon this question. He was distinctly friendly to Judge Parker, but he was not entirely satisfied with some of the forces behind his candidacy, and now, as ever, felt that Judge Gray ought to be chosen.

In the meantime, there grew up, especially in Georgia and other Southern States, a demand that Mr. Cleveland himself should be nominated, and I was the medium of communicating to him knowledge of this inchoate movement. I was well aware that he would not even consider the suggestion, which, by this time, had obtained some publicity. He knew that I would attend the convention and could reach the Southern men in question, so that I carried with me the following letter, with directions to show it to a few gentlemen if necessary:

Princeton, June 26, 1904.

My dear Mr. Parker:

I leave here for the summer on Tuesday a little after noon; and I am in a confused stir making preparation. Your letter came yesterday.

I have not been able to make out precisely the object of your efforts or the purpose of those acting with you. My idea, however, has been that something of a movement was on foot

to bring about another nomination than Parker's—though I have not supposed that "another nomination" was related to my candidacy.

I cannot believe now that in the face of all I have written and said, and in view of conditions as palpable to every friend I have in the world as they are to me, there can be an intention in any quarter to attempt, by any means or in any contingency, to compass my nomination: and yet within a day or two I have read and heard some disquieting things.

I want to do what I can to avoid a charge of permitting misapprehension of my position; and so I say to you as plainly as I can that all thought of my candidacy must be abandoned as absolutely and inexorably impossible.

Yours sincerely,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

George F. Parker, Esq.,
Astor House,
New York.

VI

AFTER the nomination of Judge Parker had been made and a meaningless platform had been supplemented by the Gold Telegram—an act of courage equaled by few in our political history—Mr. Cleveland's hopes were raised anew. Neither he nor the candidate himself, or any other man with a knowledge of conditions, dared to hope for success, much less to expect it: but he especially thought that it might be possible to bring the party back to its old principles and traditions.

As the resulting campaign ran its course, he was discouraged by the compromises in management offered to what he always termed the "wreckers" of the party, but he was sincerely attached to the candidate and desirous of doing whatever he could to promote his interests and

the ideas he represented. He consented to make two speeches, and so, recurring to an old habit, I was asked to go to Princeton to listen, as of old, to the reading of the drafts, taking back with me the copy for distribution to the press. All his old interest had been revived. He showed himself far more solicitous for the success of another than he had ever been for himself, and his disappointment over the crushing defeat was far keener than that of the candidate.

I do not believe that, from this time forth, he thought the resuscitation of the party and its return to its old-time principles were among the probabilities of the immediate future. In the hands of demagogues and self-seekers, as he called some of the potent leaders, he feared that it would become a sort of political Cave of Adullam to which would resort "every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented." As each principle or policy for which it had stood was lost sight of, he felt that the shadow would gradually become more vital than the substance, and the machine would simply conceal weakness, not denote strength.

VII

Mr. Cleveland watched with an interest that never waned the rise of the party known as Populist. From its inception he had recognized that its demands were a formulated expression of those vague and impracticable notions which, like driftwood, had been floating upon the surface of the political deep from the beginnings of our government. He resented the fusions made with it in some of the Western States, always insisting that they were both perilous to the Democratic party's future

and unnecessary even for its temporary success—contentions well established by the Presidential election of 1892.

He was convinced that this movement would never become dangerous until it attracted to it some leader with the qualities which should at once enable him to present with much oratorical force the questions involved in such an agitation and bring to its support the wavering members of some existing party. He believed that William Jennings Bryan was such an apostle and that he would attempt to use the machinery of the Democratic party for promoting his purposes. He said many times over: "Bryan's mind, training, and imagination all combine to make of him a Populist, pure and simple. He has not even the remotest notion of the principles of Democracy."

VIII

Because of his settled, unwavering feeling about the later lack of party leadership and absence of cohesion, this phase of Mr. Cleveland's political career demands adequate treatment. He was uncompromising in his opposition to Bryan and the thing known as Bryanism, because he believed them to be fatal to Democratic principles.

No man could question his devotion to the party of his choice. In our whole history it is difficult to find another who had a stronger attachment to its principles and leaders, or one more consistently opposed to its rival and all that it stood for, than Grover Cleveland. None realized better than he the difficulties and trials through which it had passed during and after the Civil War and until his own election.

He said to me over and over again:

> Of all the wonders that I have seen during my life, none has quite so impressed me as the reserve power of the Democratic party, which seems to have the elements of earthly immortality. It stood the shocks of civil war, during which it almost disappeared as a political entity in many of the States of the North and from all those in revolt. In spite of the attempt to discredit its principles, organization, and leaders, it sent into the Union army more men than its rival and furnished nearly all the generals who either organized armies or won victories. It has passed through the heresies of greenbackism and free coinage; but one was opposed and killed by Democrats in the Senate, and the other by a Democratic President. It has lacked the discipline natural to its rival; and yet, in spite of this fact, it has since stuck to its principles with such persistence that it has generally held more than a majority of the States, has made a courageous fight in all Presidential contests, and has won in two of them.

This remark, in substance, was many times repeated in the earlier years of my acquaintance, and emphasized after his retirement from the Presidency, and was always coupled with the prediction that a party which had withstood such shocks as these would bury Populism so deep that it would be nothing more than an unfragrant political memory. Even in the darkest days, when his attached friends were doubtful of the future of his party, he adhered to this opinion. There were times when he would have blue or despondent spells; but these would soon pass away, and his confidence in the vitality of settled principles, and, especially, his belief in the good sense of the American people, would quickly re-

assert themselves, and his forebodings would disappear. He insisted that it might take time but that no other result was possible. Not to believe this would have destroyed his faith in the integrity and permanence of American ideas and institutions whose existence, in his opinion, was only possible so long as our people should divide themselves on fixed principles into two parties fairly balanced as to numbers.

IX

One of Mr. Cleveland's intimate friends tells me that he went to Washington in 1893, at the beginning of the extra session called to repeal the silver-purchase clause of the Sherman Act. He soon became convinced that opposition inside his own party—little short of treachery—was then wide-spread and already beyond control. It was difficult to convince Mr. Cleveland that such a thing was possible. As events slowly developed during the next two years, my friend again went to Washington and still found that the President, in spite of the repeal of the Silver Law, was skeptical about the fear that the Democratic party could be shifted from its moorings as a sound-money organization. He writes:

> Mr. Cleveland was slow to believe that the party could take such a course. It seemed to him so abhorrent as to be impossible. When the blow fell, he met it with his usual splendid courage. His attitude towards Bryan, Senator Vest, and the other misleaders, I can only describe as an exhibition of sorrow, pity, and Christian patience. He looked upon them as one looks upon madmen who endanger themselves while injuring others. Through it all, he showed the same grim determination to hold fast to principle and to look to time for that vindication which came in such ample measure before he

passed away. In January, 1896, when I told him that nothing could keep the party from going wrong, he replied: "Then it will be our duty to stand by our guns and let the party go, if it insists upon abandoning principle for expediency at the risk of the country's ruin."

X

Mr. Cleveland's attitude of doubt, no less than his unwavering confidence in the outcome, was confirmed by the following letter written to a New York friend who, through a newspaper, had reminded the public of the President's difficulties and its duty towards him:

Executive Mansion, Washington,
April 16, 1894.

My dear Mr. Wheeler:

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for your letter in the *New York Times* of to-day.

It is very refreshing, in the midst of much misconception and prejudice and ignorance and injustice, to know that there are some who are inclined to be just and fair.

There never was a man in this high office so surrounded with difficulties and so perplexed, and so treacherously treated, and so abandoned by those whose aid he *deserves,* as the present incumbent.

But there is a God, and the patriotism of the American people is not dead; nor is all truth and virtue and sincerity gone from the Democratic party. The delay may be discouraging and our faith may be sorely tried, but in the end we shall see the light.

Yours very sincerely,

Grover Cleveland.

Everett P. Wheeler, Esq.,
New York City.

XI

Absence from the country during most of the second administration compelled me to keep in touch with the course of events by correspondence. Upon my arrival in Washington three weeks after the election, I found an invitation to luncheon at the White House on the following day. When Mr. Cleveland saw me, after nearly four years of separation, his greeting was: "Well, you did not forget me even if you were in England. I read your letters in behalf of the Palmer and Buckner ticket, and they interested me deeply. I knew where you would stand as a matter of principle, but you surprised me by the vigorous blows you struck."

It was only natural that, in the next two hours, he should tell me the story of the political part of the administration. This was interesting, but most of it is now a part of our national history, with which I need not concern myself. What most engaged my attention was to hear from him something about the meteoric figure of Bryan, the self-nominated candidate who had, somehow, taken possession of a great party. He was wholly new and had for me the interest inherent in the unknown.

I soon found that Mr. Cleveland knew little more about him personally than I did. When the second term began he found Bryan in Washington as a member of Congress from Nebraska, elected in 1890 as a Democrat and reëlected in 1892. In his first session he made one tariff speech which evinced decided oratorical powers, though hardly up to the standard of knowledge set in the discussion of the Mills Bill. In spite of this defect, the President was pleased to find support for Demo-

cratic principles in a quarter from which it had been least expected. But his satisfaction was short-lived. It was clear, before long, that, for Mr. Bryan, the tariff was little more than a declamatory expedient. As to what he really and honestly believed in, the President said: "The idea that appealed to his imagination was free silver: the one that I had fought since my entrance into national politics."

He continued:

> In time it was made plain that some of the extreme silver advocates in the Senate or House had been busying themselves, even more than the average Congressman, in an effort to obtain offices for their friends. As you know, I refused, at the opening of the administration, to discriminate in appointments between the advocates and the opponents of free silver. It was some time before we discovered that, in a large number of the Congressional districts of the middle and further West, some of the most active silver men were getting into post-offices and other places of importance. It took still longer to see that they were obtaining control, here and there, of the party machinery, and that, less considerate than I had been, they were inclined to push aside some of the faithful men who supported the administration in its coinage policy. It became evident, later, that a plan had been formed to use the patronage to promote their own ideas, so that the administration, in addition to business depression, the Chicago strike, and an unusual popular unrest, found some of its appointees turned against itself. Among these active men, none was more industrious in seeking places for his followers than Mr. Bryan. I dis-

covered, in due time, that a goodly proportion of these were Populists in reality if not in name.

XII

Prior to the campaign of 1904, when I saw much of Mr. Cleveland, he seldom spoke of Mr. Bryan. The matter never presented itself to him as a personal one. He seemed to think that the party would be able so to reunite its forces and that all candidates and elements would work together. He deprecated some of the concessions made to the distinctive Bryan elements in the campaign management, characterizing them as weakening, and could never convince himself that Mr. Bryan was sincere in his avowal of support of Judge Parker, afterwards pointing to the returns as proof that his fears and predictions had been fully justified.

While consistently refusing to come to the front as a centre around which organization could proceed, he urged the utmost vigilance in holding what had been gained by the campaign of 1904. He was constantly consulted by those who believed that some progress had been made, and always advised fully and freely. As a new Presidential campaign came into view, he insisted that if Mr. Bryan should be again nominated it would be wholly due to neglect of the opportunity that presented itself. He felt sure that the party did not want him, that he could only be chosen by default, and that there was no chance of his election.

In June, 1907, on my own motion, I made a hurried political trip through some of the Western States and reported to Mr. Cleveland the result of my inquiries. They were not encouraging, because it was impossible

to find that anybody had more than a timid, formal interest in the result. It appeared to be the general opinion that Bryan was inevitable, not because the party wanted him, but for the less creditable reason that it hoped to be finally rid of him by assuring his overwhelming defeat for the third time. Mr. Cleveland could not understand the apathy and indifference so manifested, in the face of the prospect of success with a solid and acceptable candidate. He had no personal favorite, but firmly refused to believe that party fatuity would go to the length of nominating Bryan for the third time.

In September, 1907, for his information, I sent him a letter I had received from one of his old friends. It contained the following reference to politics:

> I think Mr. Bryan will be a candidate again, and of course I intend to fight him. I see no indications that the Democratic party as you and I knew it is ever to be restored. Under normal conditions a party should arise from the masses of the people to defend the necessary doctrine of strict construction of the Constitution and the use by the coördinate branches of the Federal Government of the powers delegated to them, and no others. But conditions are not as they were when we were young. The press of the country no longer discusses constitutional questions; the spirit of socialism in its many forms is abroad amongst the masses of the people, and any movement arising from them is more likely to carry the doctrines of Karl Marx than those of Jefferson.

The next day it was returned with the following note:

Princeton, September 27, 1907.

My dear Parker:

I am very much obliged to you for the opportunity to read the inclosed. I do not agree with our friend that another dish

of Bryan will be forced upon our party; but his letter is, after all, like a breath of fresh air in a bad atmosphere.

Yours truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

George F. Parker, Esq.
New York.

XIII

As the time approached for the National Convention of 1908, Mr. Cleveland showed the same keen interest in the outcome. His confidence in the good sense and recuperative power of his party was so strong that he never lost hope. He constantly returned to the question, thus showing that it was never out of mind. He would not listen to suggestions that perhaps it would be just as well to let the nomination go to Mr. Bryan by default. He did not believe this to be either honest, or good politics. He was never heard to discuss the possibility of voting for any Republican candidate. He used to say: "I early formed the habit of voting the Democratic ticket and so would not know how to support any other." He took little interest in the personal side of the Republican National Convention except for its influence upon his own party, and never, even by indirection, expressed his intention of favoring or supporting any Republican for President.

All through the last winter of his life, he kept on, in a quiet way, trying to interest the best men in his party in an effort to stem the Bryan tide. I had a long talk with him in his Madison Avenue offices on March 5, in which it was difficult to get him to speak of any other question. His attitude was unequivocal, and he emphasized, with his usual energy, the folly of the party

leaders, especially in the South. He insisted that only courage and systematic effort were necessary to bring about a result which would insure party harmony. He had ample advices through that corps of correspondents which, for nearly twenty years, had kept him in close touch with real public sentiment. He was convinced that the party was tired of going to defeat, year after year, especially when it had only to pull itself together to achieve notable victories.

XIV

My last interview with Mr. Cleveland was held on the 12th of March, 1908, in his up-town offices. I never saw him in a more cheerful mood, nor fuller of mental vigor. I had called upon some business errand—expecting to remain only a few minutes—but this done, he was hungry for one of his old-time long talks. More and more the subject of current politics was on his mind, and during the two hours that he kept me, he would speak of little else. In this last conversation there was a suggestion of unusual earnestness, especially in deprecation of the weakness of the party and its leaders in not taking steps to uphold its settled principles. He said:

> This year gives us our chance. The Republicans are torn to pieces by faction, while the country seems ready to return to us if we shall only be true to ourselves. In spite of these favoring influences, we shall throw away our chances for the present, and put them in peril for the future, if Bryan is nominated. The experience of the past twelve years has demonstrated this. In two of the Presidential elec-

tions held during this period not less than a million solid, old-fashioned Democrats have felt that they could not support the national ticket and have either abstained from voting or have opposed the candidate.

This policy has driven our own people away and has repelled the young men upon whom, throughout all the history of our party, we have depended for support and success. Within this period, we have lost control of every State in the North; we have, I fear, made some of the Southern States Republican; we have practically lost our Northern representation in the United States Senate; and we no longer have effective recruiting stations for public life in State legislatures and other popular bodies.

What is still more vital to us as a party is that we are on the verge, it seems to me, of losing our distinctive issue of tariff reform for which, during all the chances and changes of the past, we have stood. As I see it, if we fail this year the Republicans will take up the question in such a way that we cannot hope to recover our ownership of it. That they will tinker with it, is certain. They have played with the currency problem, but, in doing so, have deprived us of power to appeal to the country on the large lines inherent in the principles for which our party has always stood.

It would be easy to reconstruct the party now; it may be possible to do it in any case; but, if we shall continue much longer to go to predestined defeat, it will require a popular interest and preponderance little less than revolutionary in its character so to bring the party back to principle that it can command the support of the country.

XV

DURING the whole of his political life, one of Mr. Cleveland's trusted friends was Mr. E. Prentiss Bailey, editor of the *Utica Observer,* who has had the unusual good fortune to be thrown into close political fellowship and personal intimacy with three Democratic leaders: Horatio Seymour, Samuel J. Tilden, and Grover Cleveland. He has earned the right to congratulate himself that the wisdom and pure character of the first were his study and guide for thirty years; that Tilden commanded his enthusiastic and efficient support from the time of becoming a power in New York and during his later career as a national figure; and that, when Cleveland came upon the stage, there were circumstances that brought him into close relations with the remaining member of this commanding triumvirate.

Probably the last political letter written by the ex-President was addressed to Mr. Bailey, two days after the sentiments above reported were expressed to me. By his courtesy, I am permitted to present it herewith:

Princeton, N. J.,
14 March, 1908.

My dear Mr. Bailey:

I have read with a great deal of satisfaction your last exceedingly friendly letter. Regarding you as one of my oldest and best personal friends, as well as one of the stanch political comrades still remaining to wage warfare in the Democratic cause, your solicitude concerning my health and the kind expressions contained in your letter are most gratifying.

I often recall past political contests and those who were prominent as leaders in days past in winning Democratic victories. I do not know but your thoughts are often led in the same direction, and if they are you must feel the same surprise

that I do in being able to recall so few who yet survive. It does not seem to me that the successors of these old leaders naturally give rise to great confidence or hope. Still I cannot rid myself of the idea that our party, which has withstood so many clashes with our political opponents, is not doomed at this time to sink to a condition of useless and lasting decadence.

In my last letter to you I expressed myself as seeing some light ahead for Democracy. I cannot help feeling at this time that the light is still brighter. It does seem to me that movements have been set in motion which, though not at the present time of large dimensions, promise final relief from the burden which has so long weighed us down. I have lately come to the conclusion that our best hope rests upon the nomination of Johnson of Minnesota. The prospects to my mind appear as bright with him as our leader as with any other, and whether we meet with success or not, I believe with such a leader we shall take a long step in the way of returning to our old creed and the old policies and the old plans of organization which have heretofore led us to victory.

I received a letter a few days ago from Judge Donahue of New York, an old war-horse of Democracy now eighty-four years old, but still active in the practice of his profession. He said to me that, though he was by a number of years older than I, he not only hoped but expected to live to see a Democratic President in the White House. I often think that, with my seventy-one years to be completed in four days now, such a hope and expectation on my part can hardly be reasonably entertained; but I confess that I am somewhat ashamed of such pessimistic feeling when I read the cheery and confident words contained in this old veteran's letter. I do not want you to suppose that a feeling of pessimism toward political affairs is habitual with me. On the contrary, such a condition of mind is quite infrequent and so temporary that it yields quickly to a better mood and a settled conviction that our party before many years will march from the darkness to the full light of glorious achievement.

I, too, have very recently had a letter from our old friend Dr. Miller of Omaha. It is an astonishing thing that at his

age his vigor is so unimpaired, his mind so clear, and his readiness to do political battle so keen.

I frequently see General James's letters in the *Observer* and cannot help congratulating you on the fact that you have a personal friend so charming and one who is so willing to contribute in an exceedingly interesting and instructive way to the columns of your paper. I myself certainly feel very much favored that I have gained his good opinion. I wish there were a few more who, like him, could love their country in an unselfish and disinterested manner and were willing to do something to remind their fellow-countrymen of duty and opportunity.

Yours very sincerely,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

E. Prentiss Bailey, Esq.,
Utica, New York.

XVI

NOTHING in all his career gave Mr. Cleveland more sorrow than this sad condition of his party. Its principles lay so close to his heart, he believed so firmly in them, was so attached to its history, traditions, and leadership, and so impressed with the necessity of two great parties, that a failure to maintain its power seemed to him like the loss of some fundamental part of our institutions.

He did not question the sincerity of others and only asked that they should have, as well as profess, attachment to its established policies and thus keep it from going upon a wild-goose chase in the vain hope of catching voters really hostile to its ideas and aims. He never forgot that he had won his honors through its support, and he requited them with an affection, a disinterestedness, and a devotion seldom seen: but he could only show these effectively by insisting that it should stand firmly by its principles.

CHAPTER XIV

THE INSURANCE EPISODE

I

NOTHING in his public career gave Mr. Cleveland more genuine satisfaction than the relations which he bore, in his closing years, to life-insurance. The invitation to undertake it came to him without seeking: as a surprise. He was not astonished at the revelations first made in the Hyde-Alexander quarrel and confirmed and increased by the Armstrong Committee. He looked upon them as natural and to be expected. He never exaggerated their extent and, naturally, had no part in the hysteria which seemed, all at once, to seize our people. He was little given to the "I told you so" order of prophecy or activity, as he considered these developments the natural result of government favoritism. If he had presumed to analyze them in their first and last effect, he would have said that they were the outward sign of an inward condition produced by our system of tariff taxes.

But, when the crisis came, there was only one thought in his mind: How shall we get over this exposure, with the least damage to morals and industry, and also use it as a warning for the future? He did not rush into speech or print, into denunciation or apology, but, when

the time and invitation came, was ready to apply himself to the devising of practical methods. He had never so much as thought of having any personal connection with the matter, in spite of the fact that, among the many ingenious suggestions, was one that he should take the presidency of some one of the three companies involved in the scandal.

II

It remained for Mr. Thomas Fortune Ryan to think out a practical plan for utilizing Mr. Cleveland's great influence with the public and its confidence in his judgment and honesty, for stopping what threatened to become an overwhelming panic. Month after month had passed, each more prolific in sensation than the other, and, apparently, no man of position and leading had conceived the idea of doing something constructive. Mr. Ryan did this when he boldly bought outright the controlling stock of the Equitable Life Assurance Society and, with still greater courage and audacity, at once dispossessed himself of both the stock and the control by creating a trust with Grover Cleveland at its head.

In our whole history, probably no private individual, without other responsibility than his own idea of what was right and necessary, has performed a business act which appealed more to the public imagination, or was so effective in curing popular hysteria, as this one was. Its influence was not limited to the particular insurance society nominally interested, but was felt immediately in the remotest limits of the country and in every business and calling.

Accident was to throw me again into intimate asso-

ciation with Mr. Cleveland—wholly without seeking or even knowledge on my part of such an intention. On the evening of June 9, 1905, when in attendance upon a public dinner, I was called by Mr. Ryan to the telephone. He read me his letter inviting Mr. Cleveland to accept the trust, and I was asked whether or not it would be possible for me to go to Princeton by the earliest train next morning. I requested Mr. Cleveland, both by telegraph and telephone, not to see anybody or to read anything on insurance matters until I could see him, and spent the greater part of the night in making myself entirely familiar with this unexpected call. I reached Westland, Mr. Cleveland's residence, before ten o'clock the next morning.

III

Mr. Ryan's letter was as follows:

38 Nassau Street,
New York, June 9, 1905.

My dear Mr. Cleveland:

You may be aware that a bitter controversy exists regarding the management of the Equitable Life Assurance Society and that public confidence has been shaken in the safety of the fund under the control of a single block of stock left by the late Henry B. Hyde. This loss of confidence affects a great public trust of more than $400,000,000, representing the savings of over 600,000 policy-holders, and the present condition amounts to a public misfortune.

In the hope of putting an end to this condition and in connection with a change of the executive management of the Society, I have, together with other policy-holders, purchased this block of stock and propose to put it into the hands of a board of trustees having no connection with Wall Street, with power to vote it for the election of directors—as to

twenty-eight of the fifty-two directors in accordance with the instructions of the policy-holders of the Society, and as to the remaining twenty-four directors in accordance with the uncontrolled judgment of the trustees. This division of twenty-eight and twenty-four is in accordance with a plan of giving substantial control to policy-holders already approved by the Superintendent of Insurance.

I beg you to act as one of this board with other gentlemen, who shall be of a character entirely satisfactory to you. I would not venture to ask this of you on any personal grounds; but to restore this great trust, affecting so many people of slender means, to soundness and public confidence would certainly be a great public service, and this view emboldens me to make the request. The duties of the trust would be very light, as in the nature of things, when a satisfactory board is once constituted, there are few changes, and all the clerical and formal work would be done by the office force of the company.

I have written similar letters to Justice Morgan J. O'Brien, Presiding Justice of the Appellate Division of our Supreme Court, and to Mr. George Westinghouse of Pittsburgh, two of the largest policy-holders in the Society.

Very truly yours,

THOMAS F. RYAN.

Hon. Grover Cleveland,
Princeton,
New Jersey.

Bearing this letter, the matter in hand was at once taken up, its more obvious limitations and requirements discussed and disposed of, the general situation fully explained; after which we were ready to consider the larger features which, from my experience, I knew would be uppermost in Mr. Cleveland's mind. He was fully awake to the importance of the action proposed, but, as usual, doubted, first, whether or not he was the man to take up such an arduous work, and thus virtually with-

draw from his retirement; and then whether, conceding this, he either ought or could afford to undertake a task involving so much risk of reputation. He urged his unfamiliarity with practical business, to which the ready and natural answer was that details were only slightly involved, the really important matter in hand being the assertion of broad general principles until such time as the public alarm could be allayed.

In this way, the objections based upon expediency and experience were met and disposed of, as was readily apparent, to his satisfaction. There remained another and final one: by far the most serious. This was the unlucky precedent set by one of our ex-Presidents, who, long after the expiration of his Presidential service, had been drawn into a banking connection which proved fatal to fortune, involved his good name for a brief time, and had since been pointed out as one of the perils to be avoided by ex-Presidents. In urging this, I was able, from personal knowledge and by reason of personal relations, to assure Mr. Cleveland that Mr. Ryan had purchased the Equitable stock out of hand, from his own ample resources, and that he sought to avert a great public peril and neither to make a profit nor to exert financial power.

IV

Convinced of the disinterestedness of all concerned, he consented to accept the trust, and authorized me to telephone his decision to New York. Upon my return to his room the question was raised as to the form which his acceptance should take. He thought nothing more was necessary than a brief, formal note to be carried back as an immediate reply to a business proposal.

Here, again, it was represented to him that this afforded him an opportunity to make an appeal to the country, in the form of a letter, which should exercise an influence more extensive than anything else that could be said or done. He assented, and on the same day wrote as follows:

Princeton, June 10, 1905.

THOMAS F. RYAN, ESQ.

Dear Sir:

I have this morning received your letter asking me to act as one of the three trustees to hold the stock of the Equitable Life Assurance Society which has lately been acquired by you and certain associates, and to use the voting power of such stock in the selection of directors of said Society.

After a little reflection I have determined I ought to accept this service. I assume this duty upon the express condition that, so far as the trustees are to be vested with discretion in the selection of directors, they are to be absolutely free and undisturbed in the exercise of their judgment, and that, so far as they are to act formally in voting for the directors conceded to policy-holders, a fair and undoubted expression of policy-holding choice will be forthcoming.

The very general anxiety aroused by the recent unhappy dissensions in the management of the Equitable Society furnishes proof of the near relationship of our people to life-insurance. These dissensions have not only injured the fair fame of the company immediately affected, but have impaired popular faith and confidence in the security of life-insurance itself as a provision for those who in thousands of cases would be otherwise helpless against the afflictive visitations of fate.

The character of this business is such that those who manage and direct it are charged with a grave trust for those who, necessarily, must rely upon their fidelity. In those circumstances they have no right to regard the places they hold as ornamental, but rather as positions of work and duty and watchfulness.

Above all things, they have no right to deal with the interests intrusted to them in such a way as to subserve or to become confused or complicated with their personal transactions or ventures.

While the hope that I might aid in improving the plight of the Equitable Society has led me to accept the trusteeship you tender, I cannot rid myself of the belief that what has overtaken this company is liable to happen to other insurance companies and fiduciary organizations as long as lax ideas of responsibility in places of trust are tolerated by our people.

The high pressure of speculation, the madness of inordinate business scheming, and the chances taken in new and uncertain enterprises, are constantly present temptations, too often successful, in leading managers and directors away from scrupulous loyalty and fidelity to the interests of others confided to their care.

We can better afford to slacken our pace than to abandon our old, simple, American standards of honesty; and we shall be safer if we regain our old habit of looking at the appropriation to personal uses of property and interests held in trust in the same light as other forms of stealing.

Yours very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

V

THE trustees met within a week and completed their organization—the only occasion when Mr. Ryan ever attended—and, accepting the deed of trust, proceeded to the work in hand. Even thus early, the American capacity for seeking places, either of emolument or honor, was freely demonstrated, as the records of the secretary contained, within less than two weeks, more than two hundred names of men who had been presented either by themselves or their friends as willing candidates for a directorship. These were distributed through

every State and drawn from every trade and profession. Perhaps the larger proportion were either agents of the society or candidates pushed by agents. It was easy to eliminate the first division of this class by making a rule that under no circumstances would the name of an agent, either former, present, or prospective, be so much as considered. As to the latter, the confession must be made that some of the most acceptable names were presented by active and enterprising agents, especially in the more remote cities.

The trustees found many vacancies awaiting their attention, most of them created by the resignation of some of the leading business men of the country. Perhaps a great concern has never had upon its directorate so many efficient men of high standing as the Equitable when the scandals came. Among a few of the vacancies to be filled were those created by the resignations of Edward H. Harriman, James J. Hill, August Belmont, Henry C. Frick, A. J. Cassatt, and Jacob H. Schiff, while the spirit which had induced these men to retire made others apprehensive about accepting their places.

Happily, some associations of policy-holders presented a few excellent men who were chosen at the earliest meetings, but they also raised the insuperable difficulty, in other cases, of putting forward men whom Mr. Cleveland refused even so much as to consider. His well-known dogged firmness made it easier for the trustees to resist such pressure, backers being aware that when he had once made up his mind, nothing would move him.

Even with all the volunteers, it became necessary to seek for men of a kind acceptable to the trustees; so from rolls of policy-holders long lists of names were gathered for consideration, and these were supple-

mented by those personally known to the members—no outside advice being either sought or acceptable. It was here that Mr. Cleveland's large knowledge of the country became of great service. Although he had then been out of public life for eight years, it was scarcely possible to mention a man of prominence about whom he did not remember at least something, and from this recollection he generally could deduce the character of the man and his fitness for the important position in view. Speculators, members of stock exchanges, and promoters were soon placed in the same category with agents, so that the field from which choice could be made was constantly narrowing, while, owing to additional resignations, the vacancies were increasing rather than diminishing. But in spite of the high standard set, the proportion of exclusions, and the resignations, the board was kept up to its legal strength and the requirement met that a majority should be citizens of New York.

VI

In one of the earliest meetings the policy of the trustees was set forth in the following address to policy-holders written by Mr. Cleveland:

> It shall be our effort to avail ourselves of all the knowledge and information within our reach, to secure for directors from among policy-holders such persons as are imbued with conservative views of management, and who will regard as distinctly violative of duty the use of the funds of the Society directly or indirectly in the promotion, underwriting, or syndicating of new and uncertain enterprises, or the investment of such funds in speculative stocks and securities.
>
> The published reports of those who have investigated the past management of the Society and the astounding revela-

tions they bring to light have impressed us with the grave responsibility resting upon us to prevent, so far as it is in our power, a repetition of a scandalous and tragic chapter in the history of a great life-insurance company. The lessons to be learned from the exposures of these reports are that the men who are more concerned in making money for themselves than in discharging a sacred trust should not have control of a life-insurance company, and that in the investment of life-insurance funds safety, rather than large profits, should be the rule.

The same obligations that rest on the trustees of savings-banks rest on the directors of life-insurance companies—because in more than one sense a life-insurance company is a savings-bank. The same conservative management, the same economy in expenditure, and the same care as to investments, are as necessary in the one case as the other. The history of the savings-banks in the State of New York is most creditable; and we believe this is due, not alone to the able, honest, and disinterested men who have managed them, but also to the laws which have limited the character of the securities in which they could invest.

We feel like saying to you that, notwithstanding the afflictions of the Equitable Society, its resources, assets, and surplus are too great, and reforms in its management are too promising, to admit of doubt or misgiving on your part concerning the safety of your policy investments. . . . We again bespeak your sensible and independent aid, uninfluenced by invidious and suspicious influences; and, in return, we pledge ourselves that, so far as it is given us to see our way, the conduct of our trust shall be actuated solely by a desire to secure and conserve your interests, and promote the safety and success of the great life-insurance organization of which you and your families are the promised beneficiaries.

VII

As was usual with Mr. Cleveland, he showed his thorough absorption in the duty that lay next to his hand.

He used the same care in picking out a director for the Equitable that he had formerly shown in filling his Cabinets, or choosing high officials of the Government, for whose every act he held himself responsible. He took nothing for granted, was considerate of his colleagues but as critical of their judgment as of his own. There was no give and take among the trustees, no putting in men as a compliment to each other, no log-rolling. There were no compromises because there were no differences of opinion: from first to last every act was unanimous. The first insistence was that a man chosen should accept subject to the condition that he would then give close attention to his duties.

Some idea may be gained of the consistent earnestness shown by Mr. Cleveland in this new, voluntary, and unpaid work by some extracts from his correspondence, during this first and vital year, with the secretary. He spent the summer in New Hampshire, with one or two trips to New York to attend meetings. At the beginning of the second month's history of the trustees, when the difficulty in filling vacancies with fitting men was causing a good deal of anxiety, he wrote, on July 16, 1905, from Tamworth:

> I should be exceedingly pained and disappointed if, with absolute freedom from outside influence and disturbance, we are not able to discharge the duties of our trust in a manner as wise and useful in every direction as the fallibility of human nature will permit.

The name of one of Mr. Cleveland's friends had been presented for consideration by one of the trustees, and I had written him something about the matter. In reply, on July 20, he said:

I expect you somewhat misunderstood my feeling in regard to Mr. ——. I have the highest admiration for his business ability and his qualities of heart and conscience. I am personally very fond of him and would trust all I have in his hands. He has been concerned in some underwriting operations; and while I have no idea that these have been in the least questionable, measured by accepted standards, I feel that underwriting just at the present time is, or ought to be, a little out of fashion among Directors of the Equitable Assurance Society. Solely for this reason I have been inclined to allow this otherwise good name to drop out of consideration.

VIII

By this time he was consulted about the general policy of the society—although it lay entirely outside of his duties or powers. So in the same letter he expressed an opinion upon what was then, as now, a burning question in insurance circles:

I cannot rid myself of the idea that "Agencies" and their relationship to the Society should, in their turn, and in a careful manner, challenge an important amount of Mr. Morton's exceedingly promising and encouraging labor of rehabilitation. I have, however, great confidence in the efficiency of his work, so splendidly begun, and I do not believe he will allow himself to be misled by Agency influences.

The sense of responsibility grew upon him as he came into closer touch with the duties of his place. This was shown in the letter next quoted:

I am constantly thinking of the responsibility of my Trusteeship, and I have never been more anxious to do exactly the best thing for the interests legitimately involved. I so fully realize the surroundings of these interests and so fully appreciate Mr. Ryan's encouragement that I shall feel almost

disgraced if the remainder of the Directors chosen by the Trustees are not exactly the men needed for the emergency.

Like expressions appeared in most of the letters from this time forward until the most serious difficulties had been overcome. Some of these follow:

July 23, 1905. Somehow I am impatient to be doing something to help the Equitable conditions, but I suppose there is nothing I can do.

August 20. At the same time, I regard my Trustee duties as of paramount importance, having the first claim upon my time and attention.

October 1. Somehow it seems I have an unusual number of things on my mind just now which perplex and embarrass me, but, above all others, I feel that the duties of my Trusteeship demand my first attention.

IX

During the succeeding year the work of the trustees continued to be arduous and difficult. The new administration was getting its hand in most successfully. Among other questions demanding close attention was that known as "mutualization"—the only one upon which Mr. Ryan's attitude in buying the majority stock had bound the trustees. He was determined upon this as the proper policy, and so action was taken which anticipated the laws passed at the succeeding session of the Legislature, and to the policy-holders there was submitted the election of directors who should represent them in the board. Accordingly elaborate circulars, very carefully drawn by Mr. Cleveland himself, were sent to more than 350,000 policy-holders of record. These were accompanied by blank ballots and also by

proxies of which the trustees were the official committee.

The task of communicating with this vast army was, in itself, a difficult one; but it was easy in comparison with that of making them understand what was wanted. When the polls were closed, within a day or so of the annual election in December, returns had been received from 90,000 persons, of whom just over 94 per cent. had sent proxies and the remainder a jumble of ballots. The trustees were thus given absolute authority to represent and vote for the policy-holders.

Some curious results were revealed.

One candidate in a Southern State, for whom the agents of the society had canvassed in the preceding year with such success that practically every qualified voter of the society within this jurisdiction, some 3,500 or 4,000, had sent a letter or signed a petition, now received less than fifty votes. The fact that the names of the trustees appeared upon the proxy had convinced practically every interested person that his interests were safe, and hence there was no longer even the smallest concern over the matter. So quickly had the excitement died out when a great commanding character was put into the forefront of the battle.

The work of taking the ballot was greatly increased by Mr. Cleveland's determination that no technicalities should count. Rules had been carefully devised and the clearest of all possible explanations made, but, in spite of all efforts, many persons did not understand. His insistence upon this care probably rendered it necessary to answer from three hundred to five hundred letters a day by entering more fully into details, so that no excuse would remain for complaint. Many proxies were sent to him in Princeton, and their transmission was

generally accompanied by instructions of which the following is a sample:

Princeton, October 23, 1906.

My dear Mr. Parker:

I enclose another batch of proxies, etc., for your care and attention. I think the proxies sent to me by policy-holders in the "Mutual" or any other Company, except the Equitable, ought to be returned to the senders with the statement that I cannot act for them.

I am exceedingly anxious, however, that every policy-holder in the Equitable Society who evinces a desire to vote, either by proxy or personally, should be aided in every possible way; and to that end I want the utmost care to be exercised in the correction of their mistakes and misapprehensions. You will notice one case in which a policy-holder fears that a proxy is invalid if not made *more* than two months prior to the day of election.

This is a curious interpretation of the "directions," but the matter ought to be explained to the writer.

Yours very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

George F. Parker, Esq.
120 Broadway,
New York.

X

WHEN the organization work of the trustees was fairly under way—as soon as its effect upon the country and public sentiment could be fairly seen and measured—Mr. Cleveland said to me:

> On the whole, I have never been so well satisfied with any public service which it has fallen to my lot to render as with what I have been able to do as

> Trustee of the Equitable. Its results have more than repaid me for the labor done and the anxieties through which I have passed. I can now see that the scandals growing out of the insurance irregularities were really serious outward manifestations of popular hysteria. Nothing could have been more fortunate than to have the situation met in the courageous way taken by Mr. Ryan. Looking back, it is next to impossible to imagine what harm might have been done to confidence and credit had not some such action been taken just in the nick of time. There was serious danger lest the whole fabric of industry should be endangered for a time.

This expression of opinion was repeated many times and always with thankfulness for any aid which he had been able to extend in averting the worst. In 1907, when the panic was to come in real earnest, he always insisted that if appeal had not been made to conservative and conserving sentiment in good time, the results would have been infinitely more hurtful, for the reason that the public officials who had fanned the flames became, in due time, powerless to do anything effective in checking or extinguishing them.

This is, perhaps, a proper place to record his opinion of Mr. Ryan, who had been the medium for drawing him into the insurance situation. It was expressed at my last interview with him, about a fortnight before his fatal illness:

> When I was first asked to do something to allay the excitement accompanying the insurance scandals, I hesitated to take part in the movement. It interfered with the quiet which I needed and had

found. I was also fearful lest I might be drawn into something I did not understand and was too old to learn. I had long known Mr. Ryan, but the fact that he was supposed to bear such close relations to great financial ventures made me doubt whether or not I could have the free hand necessary to do good service, if I was to do it at all. I finally concluded to accept and, as you know better than anybody, without any assurances whatever, for I did not see Mr. Ryan until the formal trust deed was signed.

From that day to this, I have never had from him any request of even the simplest character to do anything in Equitable matters which had the smallest relation to what were supposed to be his interests. I have seen him seldom, at times not for three-months intervals, and I must say that, even when I have felt that I needed his advice and assistance, he has generally declined to express an opinion one way or the other. I shall always have the clearest reasons for holding him in respect. I consider that he has done a great public service and in the most unselfish way.

XI

For some time Mr. Cleveland had been looking for a favorable opportunity to say these things to the public, and finally, after much solicitation for an interview on politics for a New York paper, he saw one of its reporters and consented, just before his last birthday, to talk about insurance. Here was his long-sought opportunity, and he spoke both freely and fully. When the interview appeared he had gone to Lakewood, from which he was to return only to die. It was clear at once

that some opinions, never held and never expressed, had been interpolated into it. Within an hour of reading I wrote calling his attention to the article and offering to go at once to Lakewood in case he wanted to disavow publicly the sentiments attributed to him—something, by the way, that he seldom did even in the most flagrant cases, because, as he always insisted, the truth would never overtake a lie of this sort. He was then in a very serious condition, and few of his friends believed that he would ever leave Lakewood alive. Nevertheless one of the last letters he wrote was the following:

Lakewood, New Jersey,
March 24, 1908.

My dear Mr. Parker:

I do not think it would be at all profitable to follow up by formal denial the misrepresentation that has been allowed to appear in good company, so far as what I said concerning Mr. Ryan. It seems to me easy to discover how much the few words, put in for the purpose of *singling them out for editorial use,* are at variance with the purpose and intent of the interview. I intended to give evidence of Mr. Ryan's useful and disinterested conduct in affairs with which I was familiar —and I certainly had no idea of intimating that in his large affairs he acted without appreciating or caring for the distinction between right and wrong.

Nothing I said to the reporter could, with decency, truth, or fairness, be twisted to have any such meaning. . . .

Yours truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

George F. Parker, Esq.,
Equitable Building,
New York.

XII

NOTHING could have been more fortunate for Mr. Cleveland than this last excursion into public life. He was interested deeply in the work; he was pleased to know that he was again doing good; and, most important of all, he was drawn anew into the large influences and associations which had become a second nature to him, and that, too, without interfering in the least with the new circle of friends attracted to him on the scenes of his quiet and retirement. He found himself discussing and deciding upon questions scarcely less important to the country than when its destiny was largely in his keeping. He was able, also, to renew acquaintance with friends of earlier years, as they flocked about him in the intervals of leisure left him from his serious employments. Taking everything together, one is inclined to agree with his own judgment that nothing in all his life exceeded in importance or usefulness the public service he was enabled to render during the last three years of his life.

CHAPTER XV

RIVALS—PREDECESSORS AND SUCCESSORS

I

THE opinions which Mr. Cleveland held about those who came into his life as rivals in contests, either for nomination or election, and about his predecessors and successors found free expression and were always interesting.

ALONZO B. CORNELL. He seemed never to have formed any distinct idea about Alonzo B. Cornell, whom he succeeded as Governor. This was probably due to the fact that, in accordance with the traditions of the office, each man was supposed to initiate his own policy, with only the smallest possible relation to that of his predecessors, whether direct or remote. While, in most States, the retiring Governor sends an annual message to the Legislature, reviewing the progress of the year and making recommendations, in New York the incoming Governor performs this function, thus putting each new official upon his mettle. He is compelled to gather the necessary information, and so to digest it as to let the people know at once what his policy is to be. It is this custom which gives the Governor of New York a distinct prominence.

II

CHARLES J. FOLGER. As Mr. Cleveland's active public service receded into the past he fell oftener into a reminiscent mood concerning the men with whom he had either been associated or who had entered into his life. I do not recall that—in the early years of our association, close as it was, comprehending in conversations the almost infinite round of questions, interests, and men with which he had had to deal —I heard him speak often of the campaign of 1882, so far as it related to his election as Governor. But, at Princeton, in November, 1907, the name of Charles J. Folger, the Republican candidate in that year, was brought up by him in some way. He at once manifested unusual interest, and I saw that this name appealed both to his sentimental side and to his inherent idea of fairness. He then said in substance:

> I do not think I ever saw Mr. Folger, either before or after the election, but, in all my experience, there has been no man for whom I have felt a deeper and more genuine sympathy. Here was a man, distinctly of a legal and judicial mind, who, with a long and successful career as a judge in our courts, was elected finally to serve for many years as the judge of the most dignified tribunal in his State.
>
> Unaccustomed to the hurly-burly of politics, he was transferred from this office and became, unwillingly, I was always informed, Secretary of the Treasury in Washington, and that, too, at a time and under conditions which made the office a hotbed of party intrigue and ambition. He found an unfamiliar atmosphere and unpleasant surroundings,

so, while not essentially ambitious, he consented to take the nomination of his party for Governor. Here the conditions were still less familiar and more distasteful. He knew little about party machinery and less about the men who made and ran it, so that he was nominated without effort on his own part and really at the dictation of the Federal administration, which was said to be looking to the practical politics of the future. He was unfitted for such a position. Of quiet, studious tastes, independent, to an unusual degree, he found himself the centre of innumerable movements beyond his ken, and over which, owing to the manner of his nomination, he could have no control. He was denounced as a tool, a mere machine-made product of latter-day political methods, and, as a result, his defeat was the most crushing which, up to that time, had come to any candidate for a State office.

To me, it seems the very irony of fate that a man of this type, with a career distinguished by conspicuous and honorable service, and of such unusual capabilities, well known to the public, should have been defeated by me, then wholly unknown outside my own small community. I must confess that, even now, a quarter of a century after the event, I am not able to understand it. However, as it was to be, nothing has given me more pleasure than to feel that no word, either of mine or of my friends and supporters, was ever spoken or written derogatory to the character of a man for whom, then and ever since, I have entertained the most profound respect.

I have no doubt, either, that, coming suddenly into the higher public life in this way, I was warned of one of the worst pitfalls to be found there. Even if

it had been possible for me to use the power of a great office for purely partizan or personal purposes, the effects of such a policy stood out before me so prominently on the very threshold that I could only have heeded the warning. I encountered a great deal of abuse when President for my refusal to take part in local politics in my own and other States: to help my friends, as it was sometimes called. If I had ever been tempted to do so, I should only have had to think of the gubernatorial campaign of 1882, and the rebuke then administered to such a policy.

III

James G. Blaine. Mr. Cleveland never spoke much about Mr. Blaine or the personalities incident to the Presidential campaign of 1884. True to his nature and to that inborn spirit of fairness which was one of his strongest characteristics, during that campaign he took the most determined stand upon the policy of retaliation —so far as the private life of his opponent was concerned. At one time, one of the leading managers of the national Democratic campaign informed the candidate that, on the following morning, a very scandalous exposure of his opponent would be published, and that this was to go out with official sanction from the committee. When Mr. Cleveland told me the story, many years later, his strong sense of indignation was still manifest. He said that he told his informant that, if any such publication was made, either with official approval or even with connivance, he would at once resign from the ticket, thus, so far as he was concerned, not only disavowing and disproving his participation in so

dastardly an act, but by this effective protest making it impossible to employ such tactics in a political campaign.

IV

Chester A. Arthur. So far as President Arthur was concerned, his successor entertained for him the very highest respect both as to his ability and honesty and to what he called the success of his administration. He could never speak with too great enthusiasm about Mr. Arthur's settled purpose, the depth of his patriotism, or the courage with which he had resisted the financial and demagogic heresies of his time. From the point of view of party management and foresight he professed his inability to understand the fatuity which had denied him the Republican nomination in 1884. He attributed his own success, in a large degree. to what he deemed Republican short-sightedness.

No men, so placed, could have held more agreeable relations than those which characterized the two men who, on March 4, 1885, rode from the Executive Mansion to the Capitol and returned, after having exchanged places. It is a pleasure, after these many years, thus to record the good opinion in which these two men, who had passed through so many strange political vicissitudes, held each other.

V

Benjamin Harrison. Of Benjamin Harrison, both a successor and predecessor, he had mixed opinions, and yet all of them were either favorable or apologetic. He

criticized the attitude of his administration on the silver question, and yet, knowing the difficulties surrounding it and the forces to be dealt with, he realized how strong had been the conflict between public duty and private opinion on the one hand, and the greed of interests and partizan demands on the other. He never entirely forgave President Harrison for permitting the surplus, carefully built up by himself and bequeathed as a public legacy, to be dissipated by idle and unjust pension laws and by extravagant appropriations, the demand for which he himself had so successfully resisted.

But it was in commenting upon the judicial appointments of his successor that he broke into real enthusiasm. He used to say that no President in the country's history had excelled Benjamin Harrison in the care he showed, in the absolute determination, to get the best men available for filling vacancies or new positions on the bench of the Federal courts. He was especially earnest in his approval of the breadth of view shown in the first appointments to the Circuit Court of Appeals, and each successful assertion of their authority by the new judges was followed by him with interest. He often said, in respect to Harrison's whole judicial policy:

> I cannot see how he does it. I thought I realized the importance of the Federal courts, resisting mere party pressure and giving to my appointments the most jealous care, but I must confess that Harrison has beaten me.

General Harrison had the reputation of being a cold man, when, in fact, this effect came largely from shyness. Of commanding ability, certainly the greatest lawyer his State has thus far produced, he came slowly

and painfully to his own. Few men have done more hard and unrequited work for party and country in their early careers before commanding recognition. If a difficult speaking canvass was to be made or a hopeless candidacy was to be accepted, Harrison was sure to be called upon, because nobody else could equally well meet such an emergency. All this, together with his tastes and his retired nature, cut him off from the society of all except a few close friends.

When the time for the inauguration of 1889 came around, President Cleveland, who was a stickler for official etiquette and so never overlooked anything that ought to be done, gave special attention to the comfort of his successor and his family. Soon after the two men returned from the Capitol, Harrison, seldom demonstrative or enthusiastic, seeing about him all the preparations and evidences of thoughtfulness, said to a friend: "Well, whatever else may happen, I shall at least know how to go out of office when my time comes." Four years later, to a day, the White House was swept, garnished, amply furnished with eatables and drinkables by the man who showed how well he had learned the lesson of how to provide for the advent of the man who had taught it.

VI

William McKinley. Upon my first visit to Mr. Cleveland in Princeton after the close of the Spanish War, on one of my home-coming trips, he spoke a good deal of President McKinley. During Mr. Cleveland's first administration he had come little into contact with Mr. McKinley in a personal way, and in the second the latter was Governor of Ohio. Naturally, the two men

were poles apart on the tariff—the one question which so much engaged the attention of both; but this issue had been entirely thrust aside by its necessary abandonment in the campaign of 1896 and by the result of an election in which both had done what they could to preserve the public credit and thus maintain the national honor. At the time in question and also on several later occasions, Mr. Cleveland recounted to me the particulars of his last and most striking interview with Mr. McKinley, held when one man was about to lay down the responsibilities of high office which the other was to take up. The incoming President spent the evening with his predecessor at the Executive Mansion, and of their conversation, of which I made notes at the time, and also when the incident was again described, Mr. Cleveland said:

> I was struck by the feeling of sadness which characterized this interview on both sides. The one question on Mr. McKinley's mind was the threatened war with Spain. He went over with me, carefully, the steps that I had taken to avert this catastrophe, emphasized his agreement with the policy adopted, and expressed his determination to carry it out so far as lay in his power. He adverted to the horrors of war, and was intensely saddened by the prospect incident to the loss of life, the destruction of property, the blows dealt at the higher morality, and the terrible responsibility thrust upon him. In parting he said: "Mr. President, if I can only go out of office, at the end of my term, with the knowledge that I have done what lay in my power to avert this terrible calamity, with the success that has crowned your patience and persistence, I shall be the

happiest man in the world." I never saw him again after the inauguration, but of all the interviews I have ever held during the whole of my career, none ever impressed me as being so full of settled sadness and sincerity, and no man ever gave me a stronger idea of his unyielding determination to do his duty when thus confronted by a great crisis.

VII

THEODORE ROOSEVELT. When I saw Mr. Cleveland for the first time after the accession of Mr. Roosevelt to the Presidency, he spoke with great freedom of his association with him. With many of President Roosevelt's characteristics he was in strong sympathy, but the one fact that struck me during my interview and has since stood out in my memory was his recognition of a quality or gift which it took the American people many years fully to learn and to understand. This point was emphasized by him then and in many subsequent talks, as the trait in question became more and more strongly developed. From them all, I extract the following declaration:

> Roosevelt is the most perfectly equipped and the most effective politician thus far seen in the Presidency. Jackson, Jefferson, and Van Buren were not, for a moment, comparable with him in this respect. When I was Governor, he was still a very young man and only a member of the Assembly: but it was clear to me, even thus early, that he was looking to a public career, that he was studying political conditions with a care that I had never

known any man to show, and that he was firmly convinced that he would some day reach prominence. I must, however, confess that I never supposed that the Presidency would come within the scope of his aspirations so early in life.

CHAPTER XVI

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

I

It is well known that, from the beginning of his public career, Mr. Cleveland took a firm stand in favor of reform in the Civil Service. Although not a member of the association in Buffalo devoted to the promotion of the merit principle, he was in touch with its active spirits. It was natural that training and ideas as well as common sense should make him friendly to any such movement. His relation to politics before his nomination as Governor in 1882 was local, but he aligned himself with the issue at the earliest opportunity.

It has generally been assumed that this alignment was first suggested by the Civil Service Reform Association, and I have before me the original inquiry of this body bearing date October 20, 1882, signed by George William Curtis, John Jay, Everett P. Wheeler, and William Potts, as its committee, in which the opinions of the association were emphasized in a neatly engrossed letter of seven pages. Mr. Cleveland replied from Buffalo, under date of October 28, only a few days before the election, repeating the arguments set forth in his letter of acceptance issued three weeks earlier.

II

Among the papers discovered in the house-cleaning process at No. 816 Madison Avenue, New York City, after his return from the White House, the following correspondence was found as well as some others unsuspected. All of them were turned over to me, at the time, and put away with other Cleveland archives for future use or reference. Among others, we came across a letter of which the following is that portion pertinent to the subject under treatment:

Elmira, October 2, 1882.

Hon. Grover Cleveland.

My dear Sir:

I inclose you a letter which I have received from my friend Professor Fiske of Cornell University. It contains some suggestions which I think should be well considered. He is friendly to both you and me; and I think it would be well as far as possible to follow his suggestions. I am permitted to send you the letter as I shall be unable to see you personally. Professor Fiske can do each of us great good, and I have no doubt will do so in case your letter of acceptance is satisfactory.

I remain,

Hastily but faithfully yours,

David B. Hill.

This covered a letter from the late Professor Willard Fiske of Cornell University, which is followed by the suggested draft of a paragraph for the letter of acceptance:

Astor House, New York City,
September 23 [1882].

My dear Mr. Hill:

I congratulate you upon your nomination, and hope to be able, ten weeks from now, to congratulate you upon your election. This last can be rendered certain in one very simple way.

There are—to put the figures low—twenty thousand voters in the State who are especially interested in the matter of a reform of the national civil service. This is, in fact, just now, their only interest in political matters. If Mr. Cleveland's letter of acceptance (which, for obvious reasons, I trust will not be made public until after his competitor has committed himself) contains a paragraph like the one I inclose[1] (simply as a sample specimen), you and he will secure not only these twenty thousand votes, but the help of three of the most influential Republican journals in the State.

But there must be no mistake in the character of the utterances. They must show unmistakable sincerity, and they must show that Mr. Cleveland knows what he is talking about. All the politicians can use the phrase "civil service reform" with admirable glibness, but the twenty thousand reading and thinking men who have given study to this subject, can tell by a single sentence whether the speaker or writer had any honest opinion on the matter or not. There must be no vagueness and no exhibition of ignorance.

[1] *Suggested Draft of Paragraph for Letter:*

I am heartily in favor of a most thorough reform in the Nation's administrative service — such a reform as shall give us officials in the civil branches of the government as devoted, as honest, and as well fitted for their duties as are the officers of the military branch. I believe that the lower grades of the civil service should be filled by the most intelligent youth of the land, selected by means of honestly conducted and thorough competitive examinations, which shall be freely open to the sons of all classes of citizens; that these, as they acquire the necessary training, shall be promoted by merit to the higher grade; and that the tenure of all such offices as are filled by appointment shall be, as in every other business, during good behavior; so that, in this manner, the service may be speedily purified and rendered efficient. I am unalterably opposed to the system of appointment by favoritism, or through partizan influences, as I also am to the levying of assessments for partizan purposes upon the employees of the government — a body of men whose plain duty is the service of the whole people and not that of any political body.

This suggestion, if carried out, will not lose you a single vote in the Democratic party. It will gain you, I believe and know, nearer thirty than twenty thousand Republican votes.

Very truly yours,

W. Fiske.

The Hon. D. B. Hill,
etc., etc., etc.

Of course, neither Mr. Hill, the candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, nor Professor Fiske then knew that Mr. Cleveland would insist upon framing his own language, which, in his acceptance letter of October 8, was as follows:

Subordinates in public place should be selected and retained for their efficiency, and not because they can be used to accomplish partizan ends. The people have a right to demand, here, as in cases of private employment, that their money should be paid to those who will render the best service in return and that the appointment and tenure of such places should depend upon ability and merit.

The system of levying assessments, for partizan purposes, on those holding office or place, cannot be too strongly condemned. Through the thin disguise of voluntary contributions, this is seen to be naked extortion, reducing the compensation which should be honestly earned and swelling a fund used to debauch the people and defeat the popular will.

After more than a quarter of a century's delay, it is interesting to record the fact that Grover Cleveland and David B. Hill were in perfect accord upon the suggestion made by Professor Fiske. It carries with it a sense of doing justice to both. That they should have united in recognizing both the right and policy of Civil Service Reform, and have been among the earliest of the influ-

ential members of their party to see its importance, is certainly creditable to them and has had far-reaching results in promoting the idea and the policy behind it.

III

It lies wholly beyond my purpose to deal historically with the purely public record and policy of Mr. Cleveland, as President, so far as the enforcement of the Civil Service laws is concerned. These are well typified by the removal of an office-holder of the party opposed to him for "offensive partizanship" and of one of his own appointees for "pernicious activity"—phrases which have passed into the political nomenclature of the time. His close watch over even the smallest places when they bore a relation to the enforcement of the law, whether in spirit or letter, is no less familiar. Those who came near to him knew that there was no office, within the classified service, so unimportant that he refused to investigate a charge made by a responsible person, or even by a meddling body.

His insistence upon the four-year tenure for officials, and also his care in looking after details, are well illustrated by the following letter:

Executive Mansion,

Washington, September 11, 1887.

Dear Sir:

I have examined the papers relating to the Morristown post-office and am glad to see that there is apparent unanimity in support of a good man for the place.

On the question of the removal of the present incumbent, I am not so clear. The allegations are quite general in their character, and do not relate very distinctly to such conduct,

though some things are charged which I by no means approve. No charge is made impeaching his efficiency or fitness in the discharge of his duty. I mean the mere office work between him and his patrons. He has been there a long time and has been permitted to remain thus far under this administration. His term expires in about four months. I suggest that our good friends be advised not to insist upon a removal in the present condition of the case.

Yours very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Thomas Spratt, Esq.

IV

MR. VALENTINE P. SNYDER, now president of the National Bank of Commerce in New York, was, during the first Cleveland administration, one of the confidential associates in Washington of Daniel Manning, Secretary of the Treasury, and Conrad N. Jordan, then United States Treasurer. In the course of his work he was assigned by the Secretary to make a careful investigation of the record and character of an official high up in the service and with large responsibility. The case had been put off from time to time until Mr. Snyder was finally directed to make the inquiry, and to submit his report, with the assurance that it would be final. As he went deeper and deeper into it, he found that the suspected official had the strongest support from one of the President's most intimate personal friends.

When the work was done and the report nearly ready, Mr. Snyder, not knowing the President very well, told the Secretary that he hesitated to go to the extreme lest he might either be offended or disavow the proposed

action; so, at his own suggestion, he went over to the Executive Mansion to lay the matter before the President. The whole situation was carefully explained and all questions answered, when the personal element was finally developed. When doubt was expressed lest this might be permitted to interfere with the action of the department, the President rose to his feet on the other side of the table from Mr. Snyder, and bringing his fist down with all the emphasis of which he was capable, said:

> Snyder, I want you to understand that you are to pursue this matter to its remotest consequences. If you find that summary dismissal is right and proper, make your report to this effect, and I will stand by you to the end. No personal interest on my part, or that of anybody else, shall be taken into account when the public service is in question.

After this the man at the White House was no longer an enigma at the Treasury Department.

V

In addition to the usual agencies for forming public opinion, there sprang up in the larger cities bodies known as Civil Service Reform Associations. In those days they were composed mainly of rich young men and the college graduates who, in that seemingly remote, primitive period, found this a way to enter what they thought was politics. So they assumed in these cases, as their special function, the execution of the new merit laws, then recently enacted and to which the two Presidents, Arthur and Cleveland, to whom they owe their faint beginnings and their final success, had

given the most sympathetic attention. Neither of them ever failed or refused to listen to any complaint that might be made.

But this did not always satisfy the zeal of the young men in question, to whom the words "mole-hill" and "mountain" were synonyms. No matter how careful an official might be in making removals of offensive partizans, or incompetents, or the mere deadwood, from the public service, or how honest he might be in filling their places under the system of examinations, these voluntary associations—"these fool friends of Civil Service Reform," as Mr. Cleveland sometimes called them—would take up the smallest grievance of some useless person, and give it the public dignity of a formal charge against the responsible official.

It was the policy of the President to insist upon an open investigation of these charges, however trifling they might be, by the Civil Service Commission: then, and through his first administration, a body with a Republican majority. I cannot recall that any one of these investigations, thus promptly and honestly made, resulted in establishing the alleged violations of the law, a fact which, in and of itself, gave the President and his attachment to the principle new strength with the country. In a special way, it brought his appointees much closer to him, because it demonstrated that they had obeyed the law, in the spirit as well as in the letter. It strengthened their hands in their own communities and especially with the President himself.

VI

Towards the middle of the second administration it was necessary to procure a stenographer and assistant

secretary for the Executive Mansion, to take the place of Robert Lincoln O'Brien, who had resigned. He was to be attached to the President, both as stenographer and as a sort of social secretary—one of the most confidential of places. This grade of office having been included in the classified service, it was concluded that instead of a new applicant, a picked man from one of the departments should be found and transferred to the Executive Office. Various names were canvassed and inquiries made as to the fitness of their owners for a post of such delicacy. A near friend of the President, Robert A. Maxwell of New York, who was then Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General, reported that he had in his office a young man of unusual qualities and fitness. He reported that he could recommend him thoroughly for the place, and although he would part with his subordinate with great regret, he would let him go if it were deemed a necessity.

The name of the young man in question was George Bruce Cortelyou. After the matter had been fully canvassed by the parties in interest as employers, it was mentioned to the subordinate, so that he might know what was expected of him and also that he might accept or decline, as he saw fit. During the campaign for the nomination of a Republican candidate for the Presidency before the Minneapolis Convention of 1892, Mr. Cortelyou, on this his first appearance in national politics, was stenographer and secretary to L. T. Michener, formerly Attorney-General of Indiana and the official manager of the interests of President Harrison, who was a successful candidate for renomination. The discovery was soon made that the strange young man, although new to politics, was watchful in the matters confided to him, intelligent in dealing with the missions

upon which he was sent, competent in the discharge of his duties, and, in political management, most vital of all, discreet and close-mouthed.

These qualities, united with an intimate association running over a considerable period, made the two men close friends, with the result that the younger man went one day to the older for advice. He told the story already narrated and said that he would probably be called upon, in a few days, to decide whether or not he would accept the transfer to the Executive Mansion as confidential stenographer to the President. "You know, General," he said, "that I have always been a strong Republican, and, as the President is a Democrat, I naturally hesitate to take this place, lest if some important executive secret should leak out, it might be disagreeable for me, in spite of my own innocence and of any precautions that I might take. I should like your advice on this question, which may easily become to me an important, and even a vital, one."

General Michener replied: "Well, Cortelyou, I can understand your hesitation, but if I were in your place, I should put it entirely aside. This transfer may be a turning-point in your career. If you go to the White House it will carry with it many unexpected opportunities for contact with public men and events. I 'll tell you what to do. Accept the position thus tendered, and when a convenient opportunity presents itself make the same representations to the President that you have made to me, and leave the decision of the question to him."

This advice was followed, and the second or third time that the confidential stenographer found himself seated with the President, ready for his work, he faithfully repeated to him the speech already rehearsed to

his friend and no doubt many times to himself. The President, probably somewhat nettled by the interruption, turned rather sharply and said: "I don't care anything about your politics: all I want is somebody that is honest and competent to do my work."

VII

As a sequel to this story, to his dying day, Grover Cleveland never failed to recognize and to express the interest and confidence he felt in the young man thus introduced to him and whose rise was to be so rapid. During the exciting campaign of 1904, when the latter was Chairman of the National Republican Committee, and, in this capacity, came in for a great deal of severe criticism, Mr. Cleveland said to me with an evident feeling of sadness: "Nobody can ever make me believe that Cortelyou would do anything which was not honorable in the highest degree. Now, you mark my words," he continued, "before two years you will find out that Cortelyou is not the man responsible for the things for which he is now criticized." When the revelations of the insurance investigation came to light, I was repeatedly reminded by Mr. Cleveland of his earlier predictions, couched in the old-fashioned form, "Did n't I tell you so?"

At every point in his career, he was the firm supporter of the ideas of a reformed Civil Service, and yet he was far from approving the attitude of many of its professed friends. He always insisted that, so long as the system of party government prevailed in local concerns, it would not be possible to command the complete and perhaps logical merit service known only in

England. He believed that it was as honorable in a man to aspire to be postmaster of his town as to desire the Presidency, a governorship, or any other office of great dignity.

He felt, too, that a true merit system would never be established while one party was kept so long in power that its devotees believed they had a sort of divine right to the offices and that members of the other were really incompetent. For this reason, if for no other, he was confident that his advent to power came at a vital time in the history of the merit movement, and that, in spite of the unjust criticism to which he had been subjected, he had been able to render it great service by breaking up the tradition that only the adherents of one party were fitted to carry on the affairs of Government.

VIII

In speaking of Mr. Cortelyou and his rapid promotion, there was in Mr. Cleveland's attitude something more than mere personal admiration. He insisted that this ability to rise from the foot of the Civil Service ladder to almost the highest dignity in our society was the highest tribute that could be paid to the merit system itself, and he was especially proud that it could be so illustrated within a few years after it had been inaugurated.

He was of opinion that it even surpassed the workings of the system in England, whence we were supposed to have derived it. There the Civil Service, both at home and in the crown colonies and dependencies, was filled, in the lower grades and in the higher responsible places of a permanent character, with men who

had started with only the aid of a competitive examination, but he could not recall, he said, an instance in which men had climbed up, whether rapidly or steadily, from the start until they had reached the highest Cabinet honors.

He argued from this, single example though it was, that we were likely to carry the merit system at least this step higher than it had gone in England, and thus demonstrate our ability fully to adjust it to our peculiar ideas and institutions and to make it, in its turn, a higher model for adoption or imitation in other countries where the idea has not yet taken firm root.

CHAPTER XVII

PUBLIC PATRONAGE

I

In his relations with the members of his Cabinet, during both administrations, Mr. Cleveland gave that confidence so necessary in order to assure good work. He was thus able to command that respect and especially that frankness without which it was impossible to do anything with or for him—he had a genuine hatred for obsequiousness. No man that I have known had less use for flatterers or flattery. He wanted advice—no man could be more keenly solicitous for it—but it must be honest and open, otherwise it was not worth the giving and certainly not worth the taking.

He not only sought this kind of help from individual members of his Cabinets, but he crossed the lines of departments and asked the opinion of one official about the work of the other, but only when it dealt with a general policy. In the purely local concerns of each department, he never invited or permitted interference, nor did he have to deal with that inter-Cabinet log-rolling policy in which

> Tickle me, Davy, tickle me true,
> And in my turn I 'll tickle you too

so tends to become the settled product of many national and State administrations. He kept so close a grip upon all the Federal patronage that any attempts of this kind would surely have been discovered by him.

He would often give as much attention and infinitely more time to some insignificant fourth-class post-office —not paying a salary of more than a few hundred dollars—than to one in a first-class city or to the most important collectorship of a port. With him, in the matter of patronage, as in everything else, it was the principle involved and not the rank of the place, or the salary it commanded. He was as likely to resent the intrusion of a Senator, or a member of Congress, or a committeeman, in the filling of some apparently insignificant place as in the most important. He insisted that he did this because in the one case he must depend upon one or perhaps two men, while in the other he could get aid or opinion from a hundred different directions. A mistake, in the one case, would not at once reveal itself, but would produce a dissatisfaction which could but fester or lie dormant for a time, only, in the end, to hurt the government service all the more, while public opinion, in respect to the larger place, would find a hundred vents which would be used at once.

II

Nor did he stand upon rank or dignity in getting information about any question which was before him and deserved his attention. If he found that some assistant, or head of a bureau or division, knew a matter better than his Cabinet adviser, he would cut all red tape and, instead of requesting that such a man write a

report on the case for submission to him, he would invite him over to the Executive Mansion and thresh it out face to face. Many of the most interesting stories that came to my knowledge while in Washington, as well as from meeting men through the succeeding years, were told me by men of this type. He at once put them at their ease, and showed them that he wanted real help from them, and not mere smooth words which might flatter him or his official advisers. The result of this frankness was that, without going behind anybody, or keeping himself hid away, he was always able to command the advice he needed, and that of the best. Many a man holding a minor position was retained or promoted merely because he showed himself really helpful, and no effort of a politician or member of Congress could induce him to remove such an official. Working slowly, but without rest, having a peculiarly retentive memory of those with whom he came in contact, he would make the most careful inquiries in all proposed removals and see to it that men of the type described did not suffer, whatever their politics or however strong the pressure.

While the patronage system under which he had to work made it necessary for him to consult thousands of advisers, both official and voluntary, he had a gift, in making appointments, for building up the government service rather than a personal machine for Congressmen or members at whose request the appointment was made. At no time in our recent history, perhaps in none since our earliest days, have so few politicians been able to use the patronage for keeping themselves in power, or some opponent out. In spite of his strong, assertive character, he was a born discourager of faction. Nor would he have been able to learn even the

rudiments of how to use the Federal offices for his own purposes. A postmaster or other official might or might not approve his policies—although the natural effect of this indifference and independence was in general to command support, because the whole was based upon devotion to principles rather than to men.

III

Judge Alton B. Parker sends me the following interesting story of his own experience with Mr. Cleveland:

Early in Mr. Cleveland's first administration as President, he sent for me, and I went post-haste to Washington, going to his office in the morning, where I found him alone and at work. He said: "I have sent for you because I want you to take the position of First Assistant Postmaster-General." I was very much surprised, but, fortified by the rule which I had laid down at the beginning of my professional career not to accept public office outside of the line of my profession, I said to him: "I thank you, Mr. President, but I do not want it." His reply was: "I did not suppose you would want it. I sent for you and asked you to take it because I think you can perform the duties of that office as I would like to have them performed and that you will. Perhaps," he continued, "you may not regard the office as of sufficient importance to warrant your acceptance."

He then gave me his view of the responsibilities of the position, and added: "I have been sent here through the party and by the people to render a public service, and the men who contributed in sending me here ought to make sacrifices for the purpose of making the administration of affairs under my incumbency all that the people would have." I said to him: "You misunderstand me, Mr. President. You have paid me the greatest compliment of my life, and notwithstanding my rule not to have to do with any public office outside of professional bounds, I should feel obliged to accept it were it not

that I have a wife and children dependent upon me. At this time of my life I cannot throw up the larger income for the smaller one on their account."

At this juncture Postmaster-General Vilas came in, and the President said to him: "Parker won't come." This announcement was gratifying to the Postmaster-General, whose candidate for the position for some time had been Adlai E. Stevenson, afterwards Vice-President.

IV

After his second election, which had been achieved as the result of his devotion to sound finance and in spite of the efforts, often personal and malignant, of its opponents, he was advised by many friends to adopt the policy of "thorough" in the matter of appointments. Some went so far as to insist that no man with the silver taint, even in its mildest form, should be preferred for so much as the smallest place. He refused even to consider such a policy.

"What you advise may seem natural enough," he always insisted, "in view of our political history and practice, but its adoption would be fatal. We have succeeded, thus far, because we have made our appeal to an enlightened public sentiment, and we cannot look for the permanent advance of sound ideas if we now abandon this policy and attempt to reach our ends by means of spoils. Besides, it would be unjust to thousands of men who, believing honestly though mistakenly, as we are convinced, in free silver, have, nevertheless, voted to put us into power again in spite of the avowed opinions of the men for whom they voted. No, if our cause must be maintained or strengthened by means of patronage, somebody else than I will have to do it."

Accordingly, he made no inquiries about the financial opinions of those appointed to places in the second administration. Besides, he gave rather more freedom to members of Congress in the making of appointments than had been the case from 1885 to 1889. This was due, for one reason, to the fact that many of these had been associated with him for a time and were, at least, presumably, more directly identified with his ideas and policies than had been true in the first instance. Then, he was confronted by issues which meant life and death, and so, neither time nor strength permitted him to give that attention to details which had formerly characterized him. There was no letting up in principle in the matter of the reformed Civil Service, but, from necessity, more confidence was reposed in the great mass of men who had come to the front within the intervening eight years.

V

He did not, I feel sure, foresee the temporarily untoward effects of this policy. All through the infected silver areas of the West a considerable number of members of Congress had been returned—carried into place by the Cleveland wave as it swept everything along before it. As the panic of 1893 and its resulting depression began to affect public sentiment, these new men, many of them ill trained and worse equipped, joined in the wild clamor for free silver. In the meantime, they had filled many offices with their chosen appointees—practically all of them opposed to the financial ideas and policies of the President.

By 1895, many of these political accidents had been retired from Congress, so that, from this time forward,

they became open enemies rather than insincere but professed supporters. In that year, too, they had strengthened their hold upon the party machine, which included hundreds, perhaps thousands, of the local postmasters and other minor Federal officials. These became the avowed advocates of free silver, with all the isms included in this policy, and it was they, men appointed to place by Mr. Cleveland, who furnished the dry and plentiful powder set off at Chicago in 1896 by Richard P. Bland and William Jennings Bryan, both of whom, it was generally believed, had, with conscious deliberation, used the patronage granted them by a Democratic President for organized opposition to all that he and the traditions of his party meant. Both Mr. Cleveland and Colonel Lamont used to tell how Mr. Bryan haunted the Executive Mansion and the departments in his search for patronage.

VI

In spite of the untoward results of this experiment, Mr. Cleveland insisted to the end that he had made no mistake, that his friends were wrong and he was right. He believed that the whole question had to be fought out, that any temporizing with the patronage, or attempt to use it, would have either reacted at once upon the country, because opposed to all his professions and those of the administration, or would have promoted a tendency to compromise. In his view, one policy would have been as fatal as the other, while, by standing firmly for all the principles the party had espoused, it was merely a question of time when the country could again be brought to the support of sound, conservative opinions and tendencies.

When this came, although it had involved temporary defeat, perhaps even the final break-up of a great party, he still believed that even this result was better than for financial ideas to remain crude and dangerous and the country to be put continually into peril from such heresies. In his view, it was far better that this fate should come to a party, for a time, than to have the dial on the clock of progress put back by the entire abandonment of the reformed Civil Service, which had made such rapid strides during the preceding quarter of a century.

VII

His Friends and the Offices. Among those who came nearest to him, Mr. Cleveland had the reputation of disliking applications for places from his friends, and it came to be a sort of understanding, even if not a proverb, that if you wanted anything in the way of favor the very worst way in the world to get it was to do something for the President or to get into close relations with him. He could never get into his mind why the man whose position or outlook in his business or profession was good should ever think, for a moment, of taking a subordinate or appointive office. He was prone to overlook, though he never belittled or forgot, the service which such men might give him as well as the Government. As a result, the chances were that if one of his friends sought a place, or was willing to take one, and there were two or three other candidates, he would prefer one of the latter.

It will be recalled that his original Cabinet did not contain a man with whom he was intimate, and of these, all of whom became friends—as did everybody that came into close relations with him—none was pre-

ferred for appointment into the second Cabinet, and only one, Mr. Bayard, for a place of any kind. The same was true in respect to the assistant secretaryships, the heads of bureaus and divisions, the law officers and advisers, and officials selected for responsible places in the Custom-House, Internal Revenue, Department of Justice, Post-Office, and all through the Government. In no important instance did he reappoint the man of his first choice to the same place in the second Cabinet, and in only a small number of cases were such men given any official recognition at all. In most instances, however, these men, from Cabinet officers through the whole gamut, were accorded a recognition much higher than new preferment: they became confidential advisers not only about their own successors, but on the patronage policy to be carried out in the States or communities with which they were most familiar.

VIII

If Mr. Cleveland had in his mind any general principle on these questions, it was this, which condenses many conversations on the subject:

> If I have friends and they are real ones, both I and the public service need and will have their assistance and advice in a way which will enhance their position in the community in a far greater degree than any official place, where the tendency is to narrow rather than to extend influence and responsibility.

He always insisted that, from the personal point of view, the average local office was in no way a real promotion for the man who was successfully established

in profession or business, while, in many cases, it was doing him an injury to prefer him for an appointive office with a short and uncertain tenure. He further emphasized the point, never out of his mind, that, from the public view, he had no right to appoint men to office as a reward for service to him.

"By the accident of nomination and election," he would say, "I am President, but I was first a private citizen, which I shall become again when my term is over, so that it would be an unfair exercise of temporary power for me to use it for such purposes. It would, no doubt, be easier for me, personally, to go along the line of least resistance and choose the men I know, rather than to pass a great number of men through the crucible in order to get one who will represent the best obtainable under perfectly free and fair conditions; but I simply cannot do a thing merely because it is easier, when it may not represent what I think is right."

On a day during the last winter of his life, in his Equitable offices, when in one of his reminiscent moods, he surprised me by saying:

> Parker, it has always been said that it was something of a drawback to a man, if he wanted anything, to have been one of my friends, and I guess that, in some respects, this judgment was about right.

Continuing, he explained:

> I simply could not bring myself to the point of using the public service, or of being open to the charge of using it, for personal ends. It would, however, be unjust to accuse me of discriminating against my friends, as my record shows, but I should rather a thousand times go to my grave with the

reputation I have gained in this respect than to have had anybody say, with truth, that I had used official patronage for the payment of private debts.

IX

Of nothing in all his public career, whether in State or nation, was he prouder than of the character of his appointments. The making of them was very disagreeable work: but he never shirked it. He did seriously object to many methods used in seeking places. Of all things, he abhorred delegations, a crowd coming to impress him with the virtues of a single man who was a candidate for any given office, perhaps one of comparative unimportance. He had small sympathy with the method that made a swan out of every neighborhood goose, simply because the goose was to be presented for a public office.

He often expressed surprise at the general success of our patronage system, considering the unwonted and unnecessary pressure brought to bear, and always pointed to it as one of the potent illustrations of our system of society and government that, left to themselves, without fear or favor, men were compelled to work out their own political salvation.

While it fell to him to establish the merit system upon enduring lines, both in the Government and in public opinion, he had small use for the men who, holding responsible positions representing the policy of a party or an administration, insisted upon retaining their places when new men with opposing ideas came into power. He generally managed to make short shrift of such applicants for retention when their cases came

before him for decision. At the same time, he would take a firm stand in favor of some man in whom recognized efficiency and personal modesty stood out as sturdy virtues.

In his second administration, he could not move quickly enough to displace some of the men who, as he thought, had used Democratic or personal influence to keep themselves in office under President Harrison. If one did not know and recognize his almost infinite capacity for detail, astonishment would ensue over the fact that he could remember these cases, or that, remembering, he would go to the trouble of removing one member of his party, originally chosen by him under a laborious system, when he must undergo the same tiresome process in choosing his successor. But this was his way, not for personal, but for public reasons.

Taking it all in all, no President of the United States in our generation gave so much time or conscience to the patronage incident to his office, or hated it more, or, on the whole, was more successful in getting fairly good results. He expected his officials to represent his methods and policies and those of the party behind him —to deal fairly and openly with their part of the public —and yet he refused to use his power even to promote his tariff and financial ideas—a policy which, in the opinion of many of his warmest friends and supporters, was responsible for his own betrayal and the disruption of his party in 1896.

X

The Cleveland Democrats. Few men in political life have shown the intense interest in their own appointees that Mr. Cleveland did during his first term in the

Presidency, or have held them to a closer, more clearly understood responsibility. It was seldom, indeed, that an appointment was made without something of a contest.

The long exclusion from power of the party whose ideas and policies were again brought to the front had had two effects. In the first place, it had produced a good supply of men firmly convinced of their ability to carry on the duties of an important place, and of the fact that the party and the country were, to a large degree, dependent upon them for their success; on the other hand, the members of the party, outside of the South, had had little settled experience in public administration. Where this opportunity had presented itself in a few States, it was fitful and uncertain. These conditions made necessary the greatest care, and the new President was so constituted that he could not turn over the patronage in given districts or States, in a wholesale way, to a group of legislators or committeemen.

As an effect, there was never any lack of competitors for important places, so that, as the representatives or friends of each came before him, they made a distinct impression upon his mind. He not only watched their official work and kept in touch with their relations to their own communities, but he was continually getting from them information as to public and party sentiment, learning from a brief conversation, or a letter, the writing of which was rather encouraged, or through the medium of his private secretary, Colonel Lamont, what he most wanted to know.

XI

The fact should not be overlooked that we are here dealing with a President who was more of a politician

than the public has yet realized—one whose hand was always on the pulse of opinion through thousands of voluntary and intelligent agents. He was both sufficiently industrious and absorbed in his work and responsibility to learn and know his business in all its details. If a member of Congress or a committeeman of any grade was consulted, he soon found that the friendly or suggested appointee was not his own agent, but that of the Government of the United States first, and then of the party in power, and that the same commanding personality was the head of both.

Besides, he had a way of making an appointment to suit himself, and then impressing upon a Senator or Representative the fact that it would perhaps conduce to his peace of mind if he gave his indorsement to a man of such claims and parts. Even to these men it was vital not to seem to lose influence in their neighborhoods. A Senator from Ohio thus found himself giving written indorsements for the appointment of men whom he hated, because, as he well knew, they would oppose his ambitions and weaken his power at every turn.

But control over the agents of the Federal power, or watchfulness, did not stop with getting from them advice or help, or knowledge of the conditions by which they were surrounded. The President kept in close touch with their way of wielding the power lodged in their hands. It was only natural that a great party excluded from power and influence, long in control, and having access to the newspapers and all other forms of expressing public opinion, should view with a jealous eye the actions of their rivals, who, as they had been claiming for years, had no capacity for carrying on the affairs of a great and complicated government.

XII

All these influences contributed to give Mr. Cleveland a relation to the public service larger than that of any other President in our history. As a result of the care exercised in selection, and the authority conferred, these men themselves came to occupy, for the time, more than the ordinary prominence incident to their offices. They enjoyed the real support as well as the reflected authority inherent in the highest executive office, and that within their own places, and the President treated them with a consideration seldom seen in our political life. They were more than official advisers working at a distance—they occupied a personal relation which made them feel that they were a component part in a great national movement and that, through it, they were contributing to the execution of large policies.

When the administration came to an end in 1889, it had, in an official way, drawn together a unique body —men of a type who, distributed throughout the whole country, were moved by the same ideas and inspired by the same purposes. They were not allied to the professional official class. Few bosses—that is, men with no idea except the use of brute force as the incident of party power—had been developed among them. In the main, they were not looking for reappointment to public office. Within a year after retirement they had generally come to the front as presidents or directors of banks, trust companies, insurance companies, and in other fiduciary relations, and gradually found their way into railroad companies and the largest business life of the time. Here they found themselves in an enlarged

sphere of influence and developed both the willingness and the power to promote the great movement which culminated in the selection of Mr. Cleveland in 1892, and, later, were the very focus and centre of the cataclysm which, four years later, was to overwhelm and engulf the forces of disorder and the advocates of national dishonor.

Never before had so many men, engaged in the national public service, found such appreciation or understanding by their chief as had these Federal office-holders under the first Cleveland administration. Whoever or wherever they were, they maintained a relation to their head quite as intimate as if they were all still in power and office. In the one case, as in the other, the majority seldom saw Mr. Cleveland, but the mails were always open, and he was constantly in communication with many of them concerning the state of public sentiment on the great questions of the day. He was always showing an interest in their personal prosperity as well as in the public work they were doing.

A man of prominence from a State or large city could not be with him for a few minutes without finding himself plied with questions about friends and followers in the neighborhood—those who had been associated with him. It was never the interest of the mere managing politician, seeking to strengthen his own lines, but the friend, really involved from the personal as well as from the comprehensive public point of view. When one of them would come into the public eye as a candidate for some State office, or for some conspicuous service in business, or manifested an unusual public spirit, he was very likely to hear from Mr. Cleveland with a short letter of congratulation or thanks.

The inevitable result was that this man, so deeply interested on the human side, with none of the arts of the demagogue or of the selfish, scheming politician, rapidly built up, all unconsciously to himself, an almost perfect personal influence. It was an exhibition of that gratitude for favors received which gave the lie to the proverbial definition of this quality. When the time came for political action—and it was never absent—it would not have made the least difference, so far as party sentiment was concerned, whether Mr. Cleveland had or had not cared to be again nominated and elected President. It was known that he was more than indifferent, that he was even opposed to the plans of his friends, but this could not have been permitted to weigh in the balance when opposed to the wishes, the demands, and the concentrated power of an expanding circle of friends and supporters in every State, county, and city the country over.

XIII

From this point of view, the second administration cannot be compared with the first. Desirous though the President was to give the same close attention to the personnel of appointments, it was impossible to do so. From its earliest days the administration was confronted with almost every peril that can menace public authority —even to civil and foreign war. Nothing but the most unremitting attention and the most prompt and courageous action could avert national calamity.

It was a period in our history when all the bad elements seemed to be thoroughly in accord. An entailed panic and depression, for which the country had made

only the smallest preparation, had produced hardships of the most serious character. It was necessary to invoke new or unused powers, not for the assertion of the rational authority of the Government, but for putting down real as well as threatened violence. The national credit was to be asserted and maintained, and the public honor preserved. Besides, many other discouraging forces were to be taken into account. Our boasted power of assimilating new and foreign elements was taxed to the limit of its capacity, some developments in the public mind were beginning to exercise an unwholesome influence upon our population, and the spirit of Jingoism—which may be defined as patriotism run to seed—was to be found among the many new articles of importation from other countries.

For these reasons—to which must be added the silver treachery—the personnel of the public service, in the subordinate offices, was not so strong as in the first administration, nor has it exercised anything like the same influence upon the currents of opinion. One evident reason is found in the fact that, even if it had had the same commanding ability and union, the practical dissolution of the Democratic party, at the close of the second administration, would have weakened its power. When men must kick down the ladders by which they have climbed to power they are not likely to have either disposition or opportunity to make much of an impression upon the prevailing styles of architecture. It has been the fate of the distinctive Cleveland forces, from the days of 1896 downward, to give their attention to the work of keeping the structure which they had created from falling upon them and their neighbors. The campaign of 1904, while it continued, did, indeed, constitute something like a temporary relief, but its untoward result

only served to show how serious the danger had been and how almost impossible the task of reconstruction seemed to be.

XIV

But, until the end, Mr. Cleveland manifested the keenest interest in the great body of men who had followed, with such fidelity and tenacity, the leadership first developed in 1876 and solidified in 1884. He had no doubts, no qualms of conscience, no regrets that he and these men had thus fought faithfully together during all the intervening years. He still congratulated himself that he had represented what he thought to be one of the most rational movements in the history of free government: the preservation of the people from their own excesses; and he often expressed the opinion that men more unselfishly devoted to the good and wholesome had never been brought together.

From a personal point of view, he deemed it the greatest pleasure of his life that, drawing men about him in a purely public way, so many of them had become his intimate friends. To the last, men strange to him in feature and often in name would find welcome at his home or his office simply because they made themselves known to him as faithful and devoted supporters of sound ideas of government. He took little credit to himself—indeed, nothing like what he deserved—but this was in perfect keeping with his character. He looked upon the revival, at the close of the Civil War, of the party to whose principles he was so firmly attached, as the work of Horatio Seymour and Samuel J. Tilden; and he regarded himself as the follower, to whom, in the chances of war and succession, had come the duty of

taking up their work. So, while the forces and elements here described were known as Cleveland Democrats, it was a name given to a type which, in his opinion, was inherent in our free citizenship and essential, under whatever name or in whatever time they may live, to the maintenance of our institutions.

CHAPTER XVIII

ECONOMIC QUESTIONS

I

It was only natural that Mr. Cleveland, after his retirement from the Presidency in 1889, should, at the earliest opportunity, turn his attention to the study of questions of economy and finance. He felt the deficiencies of his early training in these subjects more keenly than in any other department of government—in reality, he soon saw that they included almost every other question. He was little given to the study of set treatises on any question—he had already reached the epigrammatic conclusion that "it is a condition which confronts us—not a theory"—but went direct to the writings of the men who, from the earliest days of our history, had administered our fiscal laws.

Nor did he set undue store by the experience of other countries, so far as their taxing, or banking and currency, systems were involved. He recognized that, in order to influence our people, it was necessary to narrow the circle, to keep before them, at all times, our own experience. He always held that both the tariff reform battle and the contest against the free coinage of silver had been unnecessarily complicated by reaching out for foreign examples, thus involving the intrusion of wages

and prices, facts which, until we had entered actively into competition in manufactured products, were not wholly germane to the discussion. He believed our own periods of reasonable tariffs had so exemplified the doctrines for which he contended that arguments drawn from other countries often tended to weaken the cause, by confusing a busy people.

In like manner, he held that our own varied experiments in discredited paper money and in coins issued at more than their real value were sufficient, without requiring our people to take account of like failures in other countries at different periods of history. He was wholly out of sympathy with the doctrine, not even yet wholly abandoned, "What do we care for abroad?" but he felt that, even in our short history, we had committed about all the economic sins and accepted the whole round of fallacies to be found in the history of all the countries from which our people had been drawn.

II

So when, for the first time, he had comparative leisure on his hands, he began to read the writings and to study the lives of four or five of the men who had carried on our political experiment in the earlier days. He limited himself mainly to Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, and Jackson.

He did not pursue these studies in an academic way, but for a distinct and settled purpose. He had occasion to study Washington and his civil life because, in the course of the public demands made upon him, he must speak about him. Here, too, was a great personal as well as a public attraction. He had a deeper admiration

for the first in the line of his predecessors than for any other man in history. In like manner, he was led to the study of Hamilton, although he never made an address devoted to his character and services. To Jefferson he gave close attention for patriotic as well as partizan reasons. He was frequently called upon to make addresses about our third President, and he also wrote a short introduction to his works—still unpublished, because he deemed it inadequate.

One of the first demands which I was called upon to meet, in my capacity as book-hunter, was to find for him Madison's "Debates of the Constitutional Convention," of which he made a careful study. As coming nearer to our own times and meeting conditions more nearly modern—so far as fiscal questions were concerned—he was drawn to the actions, more than to the writings, of Jackson. He returned continually to these statesmen, so that the opening of his second administration found him one of the best equipped of our public men in knowledge of the real fundamentals of political life.

III

It was not alone, however, to a study of the works of these men that this increased knowledge was due. He was continually coming into the closest touch with living men who had fairly mastered the facts and theories of financial discussion. Everything that was best of current thought, so far as men were concerned, came to him. The leading economists, specialists in their branches of study, were constantly seeking him out, or sending him their contributions, or reaching him, no less effectively, through his personal or political intimates.

While in this, as in other questions, he absorbed information slowly, it found sure lodgment in his capacious mind. He seldom interrupted his chosen studies by attention to extraneous questions. He found little time, during this period, for poetry, or fiction, or even theology—for which he had both an inherited and a cultivated fondness. His lines had been cast for him, and he followed them with a fidelity seldom seen.

It was always interesting to see how, without conscious effort, he was drawn to the men who had done good service in the maintenance of the gold standard, or of the public credit, and to note his opposition to those who, at any time, had surrendered to the financial delusions of the day. Party differences did not enter into account in these attractions and repulsions. Whether Democrats or Republicans, he equally admired those of the one type and distrusted those of the other.

He was perhaps attracted to Mr. Tilden more by reason of his financial opinions and record than for any other cause, because he was rather repelled than attracted by some of the associations of this great leader; but he always admired his consistent and intelligent devotion to sound principles on the problems which absorbed so much of his thought and inspired so many of his acts. He used to say that the one great loss for which the country had had to pay most dearly in the failure to inaugurate Mr. Tilden was the long time it took to enforce his sound ideas on fiscal questions. He believed that the strength and courage inherent in Mr. Tilden's character, united with his knowledge, would have averted the original silver legislation, and made it possible, as the result of large discussion and of wise, far-seeing measures, virtually to eradicate the greenback or fiat-money heresy, so that our whole financial policy

would not have been dictated by a series of successful appeals to ignorant clamor and to the most dangerous opportunism. In spite of this failure of justice, with its logical consequences, Mr. Cleveland emphasized his opinion that it was due to the teachings of Mr. Tilden that these dangerous tendencies had finally been checked and the country put into the way of recovery from dangerous diseases.

When he came into public life himself, Mr. Cleveland was naturally drawn to the men who had done their full share of this sound educational and practical work on a vital question. Perhaps the one man whom he most esteemed in this respect was the late Joseph E. McDonald, who, in the early days of the first Presidential term, was still Senator from Indiana. Here were two men who, though meeting as strangers, had no difficulty in understanding each other.

When most of the influential public men in the West, and especially those in Indiana—with the exception of Benjamin Harrison—had bowed down to the false gods of inflation and free silver, Mr. McDonald had never wavered for a moment. If there was anywhere in the land, in either party or in no party, a band of men devoted to sound finance, Joseph E. McDonald could always be counted with them. He would sacrifice a senatorship, or take one against his own interest and inclination, or make a hopeless run for Governor of his State, or put himself into any other place, if only he could do something to carry out his ideas. He would oppose any man, whatever his party, his alignment, or his position, or support another, if his opposition, in the one case, or his aid, in the other, would promote what he believed to be right. When, by association, Mr. Cleveland had learned all this, he insisted that, little as

the forgetful public recognized it, the victory for sound methods in the West was due more to the Indiana statesman than to all the other men of his section together.

IV

Never distinguished for forming close relations with his associates on the three Presidential tickets of which he was the head, Mr. Cleveland resented Mr. Hendricks's former compliant or compromising attitude towards financial heresies more than anything else in his record, and was, I am sure, more apprehensive in 1884 of attack upon the ticket for this delinquency than at any other point. While there was little opportunity, owing to Mr. Hendricks's death so early in the administration, for the formation of personal intimacies, I have strong doubts, resulting from my close association with both of them, whether or not anything more than the most formal or official relations would have been possible. And this failure would have been due to a natural antagonism on these important questions, which, with Mr. Cleveland, were vital, while, with Mr. Hendricks, no less convinced in principle of their soundness as he was, they were subject to compromise.

Personally fond of Allen G. Thurman, Mr. Cleveland could not understand or quite forgive the evasion shown in the celebrated Wooster speech, and he often expressed the belief that it was this which, with all his ability, his long service, and his general attachment to the principles of his party, had rendered it impossible for him to command either nomination or election as President.

I have referred elsewhere to the foresight shown by Mr. Cleveland in overcoming any weakness that might

have developed in the campaign of 1892 as the result of Mr. Stevenson's record on financial questions in the then remote days of the greenback agitation. Personally, he had an unusual fondness for his associate on the ticket of 1892, but this did not deter him for a moment from taking prompt steps to overcome an apprehended weakness on this question.

In like manner, through the first administration, so far as its official side is concerned, the men who entered into such intimate personal relations as to become friends were Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State, Mr. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Fairchild, his second Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. Vilas, Postmaster-General, who had never wavered in their attachment to sound, conservative financial ideas. All of these had sacrificed ambition or popularity as the result of their attachment to principle. So, all along down the line of partizan or political activity or interest, the men who had proved themselves faithful to their self-assumed trusts were able to command from the President the confidence and favor, not of patronage, but those belonging to advisers and friends.

V

It was not alone to the members of his own party that these observations applied. In referring to some party opponent—even one who had fought him most valiantly and persistently—he would often say: "But we must not forget his services to the cause of honest money." Antipathetic as the two men were, Mr. Cleveland would say this, time after time, when the late Senator Hoar's name would come up for discussion. Drawn by many

qualities to George F. Edmunds—even when referring to their contest over the powers lodged in the Senate and the executive respectively—he would continually emphasize the firm attitude of the Vermont Senator towards the Specie Resumption Act and his unyielding opposition to inflation and free coinage.

Perhaps the most conspicuous case of this was his judgment of the late John Sherman. He could never express too positively his opinion of the obligation of the country to the then Senator from Ohio. He once said to me, in about 1890, when the silver agitation was at its hottest—perhaps when the silver-purchase bill was under discussion:

> No man now in public life, certainly no Republican, has rendered a greater service to sound finance than John Sherman. Starting out wrong from every logical or safe point of view, embracing and defending the worst heresies of the greenback agitation, surrendering to the supposed sentiment of the West and of his State, the time came when, by a careful study of the question in all its relations, he discovered that he had been misled. He did not hesitate, and so was not afraid to be called inconsistent. He deliberately set himself to undo the damage he had done, although in taking this step he did not, with the usual zeal of the convert, impugn the motives of those with whom he had been associated in belief and action, but went so thoroughly into the question that he could meet all their contentions with arguments based upon history and experience. He was, therefore, enabled to exercise an influence perhaps all the greater because of his former activity on the other side.

At this time and always Mr. Cleveland insisted that the so-called Sherman Law did not represent Mr. Sherman's opinions. He himself was destined to wipe it off the statute-books, by the aid of the Senator's vote, at the special session of Congress held early in his second term. When I saw him more than three years later, he said: "I always told you that John Sherman gave nothing but his name to the silver bill repealed in 1893. You see that I was right."

VI

So it was throughout Mr. Cleveland's public life. Nominally, the chosen official representative of a party, and that, too, one in which each individual deemed it both a duty and a right to set up for himself, he was always attracted to and by the men who believed with him on these deep, underlying questions. It was not only that his own success was based upon devotion to these ideas, but that this attitude was the distinct cause of his success, which, in its turn, was, according to his conception of duty, to be turned to practical use in the greatest political movement carried through during his lifetime. Whatever may belong to him: honesty, earnestness, love for law and its limitations and for discipline—and his attachment to these was very deep—his final and greatest claim to fame must be the commanding services rendered to a stable standard of value and a sound currency system. The latter is not yet accomplished, but it will come, and when it does, much of the credit for it will belong to Grover Cleveland.

VII

In the earlier stages of his public career, as in his life before entering politics, Mr. Cleveland had little opportunity to study our system of general taxation. In his later days, he used to think and talk a good deal about it and lament the difficulties so apparent in our complicated political life. While his training, ideas, and instinct were strongly opposed to centralization, he was inclined to the belief that a far greater degree of it than we had ever seen, or even deemed possible, was certain to come, not from aggression on the part of some mythical man on horseback, or because such a concentration of power was likely to be a necessity for the preservation of order, but for the far stronger reason that our taxing system was now divided into three parts, Federal, State, and local, and that, more and more, they tended to clash with each other. He was of opinion that, in course of time, the danger of double or treble, and thus of unjust and inequitable, taxation would be one of the incidents of our system.

It is known that he was inclined to favor the laying of an income tax, in the fear that, otherwise, certain forms of property might escape their share of taxation, but said he had not considered deeply the claim that this form of tax is, in its practical workings, a burden on capital and thus a discouragement to thrift, rather than a levy upon income, as it purports to be. He signed the Income Tax Law of 1894, less because of his acceptance of the principle underlying it, than from a willingness and desire to have the question finally settled by the Supreme Court of the United States.

VIII

To him, the question most vital, so far as the incidents of taxation were concerned, was the tendency, under our system of divided authority, to increase expenditures and debts beyond the limits of safety either to economic development or to public honesty, for, in his mind, a tax that was unnecessary was unjust, no matter how or by whom levied. As all wealth was earned by the industry of the individual, and government was only a police agency, it exceeded its powers and impaired public morals when it raised more than was absolutely necessary for carrying on its functions.

He often expressed the opinion that, as all our previous contests for the establishment of liberty had revolved around the levy of taxes, it was probable that the maintenance of this liberty in the future would take the form of questioning or limiting expenditures, and that, in order properly to assert this right, the whole question of taxation ought to be taken up, freed from partizanship, as well as from local prejudice or interest, and settled on the largest lines.

IX

Government by Commission. One of the interesting developments which I was privileged to see during my association with Mr. Cleveland was his relation to the Interstate Commerce Law, the appointment of the Commission, the workings of the resulting system, and the impressions made by the changes he had seen in public sentiment about railroads.

The demand for a Federal law regulating railroads had been increasing for many years; but the time was

not ripe for final action until the second year of his first administration, when, after a prolonged discussion of a high order in both Houses, the law was passed. All the elements and forces had been so thoroughly considered, that, when the principle had once been asserted, the whole question came before the President in a concrete form, and he was compelled to reach a conclusion upon it.

X

As early in our acquaintance as the year after his first term, he began to express freely his opinion of the law and its workings. In many conversations, he explained the principle upon which he himself had acted. He averred that never in his public life had he felt more keenly the sense of responsibility cast upon him than when the bill enacting this law came before him for consideration in 1886. He entertained many doubts, not only about its practical workings, but of its constitutionality, apprehending that it might interfere with the rights and powers of the States, to which regulation had been limited. His professional work had made him so familiar with the practical operation of railroads that he realized, from the beginning and to the fullest extent, the tendency of commissions, whether Federal or State, to get away from regulation—always avowed as their sole purpose—into dictation, and thence into what he feared would be their logic, operation. In spite of these drawbacks, he felt that there were abuses and grievances which demanded correction, if they could be so reached that the remedy would not be worse than the disease.

"After a careful study of the question," he often repeated, "and in spite of reservations, I signed the bill. It was my intention to file a memorandum setting forth

my doubts on constitutional points, and explaining my conception of its limitations. Upon further consideration it seemed best to assume responsibility and then to see that the new system started under the most favorable auspices." As he thought that the Commission should be essentially a judicial body, it was essential to find a chairman who would commend himself to the whole country. After canvassing the situation with great care, Judge Thomas M. Cooley of Michigan, who was in the prime of his powers and everywhere recognized not only as a wise judge but as a fair man, was chosen. He had the additional merit that he was conspicuously fitted for the post by reason of his knowledge of the questions entering into railroad construction and management.

XI

To the President's mind it was also vital that the Commission should be non-partizan, and that the chairman and his associates should be at once the most efficient and judicial-minded men whose services he could command in such a work. He feared that it might be impossible to induce Judge Cooley to accept, and he was relieved when he found that his doubts were not justified. He then left the Commission free to inaugurate the system as it might seem best, refusing to interfere with its organization or management.

"As a result of this caution," he said, in substance, many times, "but mainly because the organization of the Commission satisfied the public, it started well. Rules were instituted on safe and conservative lines. An earnest and successful effort was made to discover the relation of law to railroads and of railroads to law, whether new or old. Its powers were used with a prudence that

augured well for the future. It did not clash with the powers of the States; it was not partizan, either in organization or direction; and did not meddle or assert authority not comprehended in its enactment or inconsistent with the theory and workings of our institutions. It did not check enterprise or initiative, nor was it used by one interest against another."

XII

DURING the Presidential interim, Mr. Cleveland watched with interest the workings of the Commission and the principle of Federal regulation. He feared there was a strong tendency to assert an authority neither intended nor, in his view, wholesome, and, as vacancies occurred, he thought he saw a drift, perhaps unconscious, towards partizanship in the personnel of the body; more than all, he feared that, with a decline in character, the body might fall into the hands of men who could be used by an ambitious President or by the railroad interests themselves.

In his second term, so far as in his power, he pursued the original policy. Here, however, as in many other matters, the preservation of the public credit so absorbed his attention that he could not devote to details that attention which had so distinguished him from 1885 to 1889. He invoked only the powers granted by the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution in order to put down threatened insurrection in Colorado and open violence in Chicago, still refusing to enter upon a policy of interference or anything which looked, even in a remote degree, to regulation beyond the watching or supervisory stage.

XIII

He always felt that the moment politicians or designing men were able to use the powers of government for their own purposes the country was inviting serious perils. To his mind it was very easy to do this under the plea that there is a popular demand for it, and he often expressed the opinion that more harm had probably been done to society by men who have posed as "friends of the people" than even that which must be laid to avowed tyrants. This was especially the case, in his view, when executive authority was lodged in the hands of commissions, so far removed from popular power that their authority might be exercised at elections and through other methods of forming or influencing public opinion. The trend towards government by commission was a policy which he deplored and opposed—a fact which entered more into account than any other one element in his original fears about the Interstate Commerce Law.

From the opening days of his public career, he had emphasized the existence of abuses by combinations of capital as well as by combinations of labor; but he distrusted outside bodies, without direct responsibility to the people, because they afforded new opportunities for serving the purposes of ambitious executives who might thereby be able to work their will in nominations and elections and thus perpetuate their own power or that of their parties.

He did not believe it was ever intended that government should continually interfere with business. He ridiculed the fear of the traditional man on horseback, but was apprehensive lest the use by independent bodies of the authority of the executive, whether in nation or

State, should enable them to concentrate into their hands the great enterprises of the country. To him, it was a serious thing that the high tariff system had been fixed upon our people—apparently with little hope of effective relief—and if to this were added oversight and control by government of economic forces entering into production, exchange, and transportation, the resulting perils would tax to the utmost our patriotism, morality, and power of resistance.

CHAPTER XIX

WHAT A CLOSED ROOM REVEALED

I

WHEN the first Presidential term ended and Mr. Cleveland went to New York to live, he took the house, No. 816 Madison Avenue, into which the family moved somewhat hurriedly. In doing this, the miscellaneous accumulations of four years in the Executive Mansion at Washington were deposited, pell-mell, in a large upper room, which was carefully locked against the time when an opportunity should present itself for going over its contents, no clear knowledge of them existing except that they were of the most varied character.

When, owing to the expiration of the lease, it became necessary, in 1892, to prepare for removal to another house, one of the things to be done was to clear this room. This process was dreaded and put off as long as possible, but when there was no chance for further delay I was asked to assist in the task. The family—and all the servants except the butler—were absent, and so Mr. Cleveland and I, beginning on the Monday before Easter, determined to give that week to the matter in hand. We began early, and as there were no union rules to regulate the hours of labor in the fastnesses of Madison Avenue, the work went on until a late hour.

At noon we would sally forth for luncheon in a little out-of-the-way restaurant over on Third Avenue, giving to this as little time as possible, because there lay behind us work that was so urgent that it could not be neglected or put off.

II

Upon unlocking the disused room into which had been thrown thousands of miscellaneous articles—the accumulations of all the years of active public life—drawn from every quarter under the sun, there was revealed the most surprising variety. Among them were gifts of a semi-public character, souvenirs of every variety and order—many of them articles voted to the most popular candidate for President at social, church, or charitable fairs. These included everything that human ingenuity could devise. The gold-headed canes, of which there were more than a dozen, were—after a few with personal or friendly associations had been put aside—sent as presents to personal friends, my own share being one from a Masonic festival or like occasion in Kentucky.

Then there were theatrical programs; menus of banquets eaten long ago, but in which the President had had no part; music dedicated or sent to him, but probably never played or playable by anybody; out-of-the-way objects which had been sent either for sale or for begging purposes; tickets and articles from every order of charitable undertaking or venture; itineraries or schemes for entertainment during his tour of the country; photographs of scenery or events; and albums, plush boxes, portfolios, and like objects of great number and variety, all of which passed under our eyes and were disposed of according to the necessities of a private citizen who

expected to live in an ordinary American house. Some sufficiently valuable were sent to friends, and if by chance one was found with a sentimental relation to some one Mr. Cleveland knew, a place was made for it in the house.

III

Having dealt thus carefully with the objects furthest from personal interest, we came to the confidential correspondence and private papers, both in great variety. Of the former, much of it of historical value, it was impossible to rescue from destruction any considerable proportion, although several letters from Cabinet officers were handed over to me for the time of need, and have been of distinct use in preparing these memoirs, not only in themselves, but by revealing the close relations which Mr. Cleveland held with official associates. There were letters from Mr. Bayard, Mr. Whitney, Mr. Vilas, Mr. Lamar, and Mr. Garland, and I have printed some of these because they furnish estimates of my subject not otherwise obtainable.

Generally speaking, Mr. Cleveland, full of sentiment as he was, did not permit it to operate where he was himself involved. For instance, nothing in his own handwriting seemed to have any interest for him, nor could he understand why it should have for anybody else. He consented, however, to let me keep, as a souvenir, the perfected draft, in his handwriting, of his annual message to Congress in 1888, but scores of others, which ought to have gone to libraries and collections, where they would have found both use and esteem, were ruthlessly destroyed in spite of the pathetic pleadings of his fellow-worker.

IV

One of the most interesting revelations of the house-clearing process was a document which illustrated not only a phase of history but Mr. Cleveland's way of dealing with public concerns. During the first administration, a question had been raised by the relations which Mr. Garland, the Attorney-General, had held, before appointment, to the telephone patents. The newspapers had been filled with it for a time, and, although it proved a mare's nest, the opinion was once prevalent in newspaper circles that it contained at least the potentialities of a real political scandal. When it came up in the Cabinet, the conclusion was reached that some official explanation should be made by Mr. Garland, and it was agreed that he should prepare a statement, in the form of a letter to the President, to be made public as an authorized defense on the part of the administration.

This was done, and we unearthed, in the long-locked room, the original of this document in the handwriting of the Attorney-General. But, as was not unusual with Mr. Cleveland, he was not satisfied either with the form or the arguments of the suggested letter. Docketed with it was another draft of the proposed statement. This, like the other, was elaborate—each filled from twelve to twenty pages of foolscap—and was in the form of a letter from the Attorney-General addressed, in one case as in the other, to the President. It was in Mr. Cleveland's handwriting, and, even then, was not one of his easily recognized rough drafts, but a fair copy. He had taken up the case in all details, studied them with the same care that he would have given to a law case under his own control, and had then written and addressed to himself the letter which, in other cir-

cumstances, he would have submitted to a client in the form of an opinion.

Neither statement was used, and the only copies were destroyed: but the incident showed his way of transacting business and furnished a further explanation of the reflected hand, described in an early chapter, which wrote faithfully far into the morning.

V

Another interesting document unearthed from this room was a letter from Joseph Malietoa, King of the Samoan Islands, the relations with which had marked our original venture into colonial government, and also gave some unusual duties to our Ministers to England and Germany, with whom we had then a limited partnership. The King had already made fervid appeals to the Department of State, no doubt with small encouragement. He therefore wrote directly to the President, a pathetic appeal for war-ships, of which the following is the official translation:

Apia, 24 December, 1888.

To His Excellency
Grover Cleveland,
President of the United States of America.

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to inform you that in the last month I wrote a letter to Your Excellency, praying that you with the United States Government would look with compassion on me and the people of this small group of Islands, and devise some plan of mercy that would free us from the hard and cruel rule of the German Consul and Captains of German Men-of-War.

And now I have again to cry to Your Excellency and the United States Government and pray you to help us. For on the 18th of this month the Germans raised war against me in

the early morning, before it was daybreak. Many, seeing the force approaching, thought they were the war party of Tamasese, but, as daylight became stronger, we saw that they were German men-of-war's men, and we stopped the fight, as we never intended to show fight to the Germans from the beginning up to the present day. What brought about this fight with the Germans was from the cruel and heartless conduct of the German Consul by trying to put Samoa and the Samoans under the rule and control of the German Trader (D. H. & P. Gesellschaft) in Samoa. Your Excellency and the Government of the United States, have love for us and extricate me and Samoa from the anger of the Germans, now and for the future.

Oh that you would send men-of-war here with a favorable decision and with strength in order that we might be protected! Please entertain the desire sent to Your Excellency and the United States Government in the past month; and this also, and may the United States Government entertain it, then we under the rule will find peace.

May you live!

JOSEFO I. MALIETOA,
King of Samoa.

VI

TAKEN as a whole, the five days' continuous work, ending with Good Friday, 1892—upon the accumulations in the semi-private collections of a Governor of New York and President of the United States—held in it much of personal interest for the two persons engaged in the task, and revealed even more human nature, in both President and people, than is often brought to light within a like period of time. That was certainly a unique experience which enabled one thus to review at first hand, with the principal actor in it, one of the most exciting periods in our history.

CHAPTER XX

THE SOUTH

I

After the great responsibility of taking up the Government itself, the question that most interested Mr. Cleveland, when he came to the Presidency in 1885, was the treatment of the South. For the first time since the Civil War, power was to be lodged in a man who had taken no active part in it either on the civil or the military side. In the twenty years that had passed since the conflict was over, a new generation had grown up. While he had not been active in national politics, the new President soon showed that he was not ignorant of the conditions then existing in the South, nor of the crisis through which it had passed as the result of control by aliens, whether in the form of strangers or of the race recently emancipated.

He had no knowledge of that portion of the country from personal experience: he had never been further South than Washington, and his associates had not been drawn from among the men of that section. But he knew not only that here was to be found the problem the solution of which was most vital to the success of his work, but that therein lay his first duty. Even before he began the tedious and difficult work of choosing his Cabinet, he had turned his attention to this question; his

anxiety over it was very great, and he soon showed that he knew how to begin right. Always strongly averse to receiving formal delegations for any purpose, he inaugurated the policy, always maintained, of sending for the men best fitted to give him information, and whose claims he had under consideration for places in his Cabinet.

II

In the first administration he made no tender of appointment to such positions without the most detailed interviews with the men themselves. No reputation, however great, could induce him, then, to run the risk, either for himself or the statesmen most concerned, of making a mistake. No diplomat, whatever his nature or training, could have given closer attention to the etiquette of his position than did this man who had been called out of inexperience and obscurity to exalted position.

As each man came, whether with the idea of the tender of a Cabinet position, or merely for advice, this question of the attitude of Mr. Cleveland's administration towards the South was the matter most often under discussion. It was important, not only because of the necessity for just treatment and due recognition of that section, but for the more vital necessity of discovering what was likely to be the attitude of its people towards the changed conditions with which they were to be confronted. Would they insist merely upon the pound of political flesh to which they might deem themselves entitled by reason of their contributions to party success? Would they use their unquestioned power in the councils of the victorious party for revenge, or for a patriotic rebuilding on safe and sure lines?

The answer to these questions depended upon the class of men who should be put to the front. If the old-fashioned fire-eater should be preferred, the partizan sentiment of the North could be appealed to with such force that the new régime would be discredited before it was well under way. If men of good character but of independent standing in the country were not chosen for high places, all the chances for striking results would be sacrificed.

Neither policy came up for consideration, as the new President took the bold step of drawing Messrs. Bayard, Garland, and Lamar from the United States Senate for Cabinet advisers. They had long experience in public life, and unquestioned character and ability. They had conquered the respect of the whole country by these qualities and by the exhibition of courage and patriotism in trying times. No man of equal prominence or political standing to any one of these was taken from the North. It would not have been possible to find such men, and yet the charge of undue influence could not be laid against the South, nor, outside the lowest partizan quarters, was this ever alleged. Once more, the distinctions of section, so long potent, had been demolished, never again to be established on the old lines.

III

With such advisers from the South, there was little danger that any serious mistakes would be made in the distribution of Federal patronage. Everywhere an effort was made to maintain the policy already inaugurated and thus to command the services of men whose selection would reflect credit upon themselves and the

country. Soon this people, who had been treated hitherto as outlaws, began to regain their own pride and to feel that at last, after many tribulations, they were really in the Union and an integral part of it.

In later life, Mr. Cleveland often referred to those trying days. Nobody could realize more than he the risk he ran in taking out of the Senate three men so well established there as leaders of the minority and thoroughly in the confidence of the country. But two of them were at once replaced by successors to whom, from the beginning, he gave his full confidence. With one of them, George Gray of Delaware, he formed a close friendship which only ended with his life. As the result of this good fortune the administration commanded the services of its own trusted members and maintained its influence in the Senate, where it most needed support.

For a time everything went well. The people of the South, well satisfied with a return to their old traditions, under which the best men among them were preferred for place and power, made no unusual demands, showing a modesty and reserve which struck the imagination of the country. The election of John G. Carlisle as Speaker of the House had strengthened the situation, the attitude of governors and legislatures had been much influenced by the dignity and vigor of the national administration, and it began to look as if the promise for the future of the country lay with the South.

IV

But as the danger of Federal interference disappeared, as the memory of former wrongs and grievances became dim, and especially as the older conservative figures dis-

appeared from political life, their successors began to partake of that demoralization which, even then, had done so much of its work in the North. Wild schemes in which Populism was confused with Democracy began to appear. Demagogues were able to command governorships and began to creep into the United States Senate. The old and staid newspapers which had maintained themselves and their traditions began to change their character, and, in many cases, to disappear. The existence of great and undeveloped natural resources was so recognized that, as elsewhere, the strong men found their way into the management of railroads or local corporations, or they became residents of the North, where opportunities promised to be better.

As these new political conditions appeared, their exponents began to press for recognition in the distribution of Federal patronage. The conservative holders of these public offices soon found themselves the centre of an opposition which, with its increase in Senators and members of Congress, reflected itself in the attitude towards the administration. The old human problem of benefits forgot began to press for solution, and the South, as an integral part of the Union, came to share in unfavorable as well as in favorable conditions and tendencies.

No man saw this quicker than the then President of the United States, within whose period of service, and to some extent from his well-meant policies, it had come. The recrudescence of financial ideas, at once discredited and dangerous, alarmed him, less for the future of his party than for the delay of a prosperity which, founded upon sound ideas, should give a promise of stability and permanence. Mr. Cleveland's defeat in 1888 gave these reactionary forces renewed encouragement, and, for a

time, Southern politics took again an introspective turn, so that the interests of the whole country tended to give way to local necessities, while demagogues and agitators, who had generally found short shrift in the South, came to the front in increasing numbers. In the pre-nomination campaign of 1892, it was only the swing of the country, and the return to active work of many friends formed during the first administration, that kept a good many of these States in line.

In illustration of Mr. Cleveland's sentiment towards the South, an incident which occurred during his second administration in respect to the selection of Colonel Hilary A. Herbert of Alabama, as Secretary of the Navy, is a case in point. Six months after the relation had been formed, he said to the new Secretary:

> I want to tell you now that I hesitated for a time whether to appoint you. You know, of course, that I never had any difficulty in appointing ex-Confederates to office, but it did seem to me doubtful, for a time, whether I could afford to put an ex-Confederate officer in charge of the military branch of the navy, where he would actually command those who had fought against him. I now see that the country is satisfied with you, and that I made no mistake in appointing you.

V

With the 4th of March, 1893, and the rumblings of that terrible, preordained, and invited panic, and its resulting depression, all the unfavorable signs were multiplied, so that the South, for which Mr. Cleveland had done so much and felt so keenly, really added itself to his prob-

lems. As if it were the opening of a volcano charged with every sort of peril, Congress, largely under the control of Southern men, with the weakest Speaker of the House seen in that body since the days before the Civil War, with all principle thrown to the winds, oblivious to all warnings, had, with the greatest difficulty, been forced, in spite of Southern Democratic opposition, and only by reason of Northern Republican support, to repeal the Sherman Silver Purchase Law.

On April 17, 1894, only a year after the new administration had come into power, in the course of a letter written to me, in England, Mr. Thomas F. Ryan, then just gaining for himself the reputation of a captain of industry, long after he had established this character with his friends, said:

> As to politics, you doubtless keep well posted. Our party is in a deplorable condition, one from which I see no present hope of escape. The South is in the saddle, and but for Mr. Cleveland, there is no knowing where they would lead us. The political ambition of men to whom Mr. Cleveland and the country had a right to look for wise counsel and support has led them to barter principle for hope of office. As it stands to-day, the Democratic party cannot be trusted with the Government.

Then began in the South a period of calumny and an opposition to everything for which Mr. Cleveland stood, almost without parallel in the history of our party politics; so that, when his second administration came to an end in 1897, he was, as he afterwards insisted, the most unpopular man whose name could be mentioned there. Nothing in all his public life gave him so much grief. He knew how deeply interested he had been, what thought he had given to this momentous question, with what honesty he had met every issue as it arose, what

risk and pains he had taken, his honest determination to restore the Union in reality and in truth, his recognition of its best men and his warm personal friendship for them, and then to have this as his reward! This contributed so to increase the feeling of sadness which distinguished his later days that neither the consolations of friends nor the conviction that he had rendered good service to the country could wholly dispel it.

VI

His feeling on this question is accurately represented by the following letters, written, at two-year intervals, to his valued friend and supporter, Kope Elias of North Carolina:

Gray Gables,
Buzzards Bay, Mass.,
June 20, 1895.

My dear Sir:

I have read with very great interest and satisfaction the clippings you sent me from the *Charlotte Observer*. Such able presentations of the arguments against the dangerous and delusive notion of free and unlimited silver coinage cannot fail to arrest the attention of men as intelligent as those making up the population of North Carolina. I look upon those who take such an active and earnest part as the editor of the *Observer* in clearing away the fallacies and correcting the misapprehensions so prevalent just at this time and circling about the subject of our currency, as true patriots, who will in due time see with pride and satisfaction the happiest results from their patriotic labors. The American people are still sensible and honest and cannot be misled to their undoing.

Yours truly,

Grover Cleveland.

Hon. Kope Elias.

Gray Gables,
Buzzards Bay, Mass.,
August 1, 1897.

Dear Sir:

I desire to acknowledge your recent friendly letter and thank you for it. You say the "advance agent of prosperity has not struck the South." It seems to me that the people of that locality are doing all they can to bar the gates to that desirable visitor, as long as they persist in attacking every safeguard of enterprise and business activity. Help may come to the South in spite of false and dangerous theories, but I believe a short and safe road to its prosperity will be found in a return to the solid ground of tried and true Democracy.

Yours very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Hon. Kope Elias.

When the Presidential election of 1896 approached, a series of reports found currency, mainly in two or three papers of the South, that Mr. Cleveland was himself scheming for a third election. They were so wholly devoid of truth that he could not deny them; but that he resented them bitterly was well shown by his reference to them, for the third or fourth time, at my last meeting with him:

> Any man with even the smallest knowledge of the conditions which surrounded my second administration knows that I could not have commanded the support of half a dozen delegates in the whole country. The persistent misrepresentations of personal enemies, the falsehood and partizan denunciations published in the Republican press, betrayal by the advocates of free silver, and resistance to the declaration of war with Spain, had combined to make my

administration one of the most unpopular in our history.

He averred that every man intelligent enough to have an opinion knew perfectly well that retirement was for him a necessity of health and life as well as of peace of mind, to say nothing of principle and inflexible determination.

VII

About the year 1904, when the hopes which had centred in this opposition to sound policies had been discredited, along with its advocates, the tide of thought in the South began to turn. Never much concerned about the state of public opinion so far as he was personally involved, he did watch this change with an interest I never before knew him to manifest. Newspapers, with kindly notices marked for his attention, began to reach him again, and the immense tide of letters, which had ceased for a time, flowed anew. He soon discovered that his old popularity was coming back, that there did exist, after all, some feeling of attachment for the man who had tried so hard to do his duty.

This tendency was increased when, at the instance of a Southern man, he accepted the trusteeship of the Equitable Life Assurance Society in 1905. It grew steadily, until it was only here and there that some echo of the old period of misunderstanding was to be found. If he could have foreseen the strong outburst of feeling which was to come from all over the South when he died, I am sure that nothing could have contributed so much to his peace of mind and to his satisfaction with the prospect for wholesome development.

CHAPTER XXI

SOME OPINIONS OF MEN

I

MR. CLEVELAND discussed freely the characteristics of the men with whom he came in contact, expressed his opinions of their achievements, and gave his impressions of their personalities. These were of exceeding interest to those who were so fortunate as to hear them. If he liked a man he never tired of talking about him. He would take into account education, training, environment and the difficulties surrounding his life and work, and the character of his ambitions—in short, the human elements. He was exacting with men of great gifts and opportunities, but the one quality that distinguished him above all others, in this as in all his judgments, was a strong sense of justice.

He had also some pet aversions among men, but it was seldom he indulged in the expression of them. Perhaps opposition, and even the injustice arising from misrepresentation, have seldom been endured with more patience than by the man who was fated to have so much of them. Occasionally, he was tempted to give public expression to his resentment of such ill treatment, but this was about the only thing in which he could be influenced to suppress his feelings and opinions.

I had much difficulty, in one case, to deter him from referring, in a public speech, at length and with great bitterness to a man, now dead, who had pursued him with unusual rancor. It took two weeks of patient, unremitting effort to secure an abandonment of the offensive passages; but it was successful, and his own later judgment justified the policy he had adopted so much against his will. As in all other cases, I made notes and recall with the keenest interest some of the unfavorable opinions to which he would give utterance about such men. There were not more than four or five, and as all but two of them are dead, it has seemed to me that regard for his memory would best be served by their suppression.

In order to present some of his miscellaneous opinions in a systematic way, I have massed them in this chapter.

II

Thomas F. Bayard. When Mr. Cleveland was nominated for President in 1884, his leading competitor in the convention was Thomas F. Bayard, then and for many years before United States Senator from Delaware. Through the dark days of reconstruction, in the excitement incident to a disputed election in 1877, and in the discussion of financial and fiscal questions, he had been one of a minority almost insignificant in number. He, or to speak more correctly, his friends for him, had long aspired to be the candidate of his party for President. He was little of a politician, while the smallness of his State and the rigidity of his opinions and his plainness of speech on the currency and related questions, united

with the sudden rise of Mr. Tilden to power and influence, had conspired to prevent his nomination in 1876, and the sentimental wave for General Hancock had rendered naught the efforts of his friends in 1880. As the coast seemed to clear, they felt very confident, early in the contest, that Mr. Bayard's time would come in 1884, but the rise to position in the vital State of New York of another dominating figure could not be foreseen: so that the well-laid plans were again upset.

Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Bayard did not meet until after the election of 1884, when the question of choosing his Cabinet confronted the new President. Only two candidates, other than the successful one, had made any considerable showing in the National Democratic Convention of 1884, and, as Mr. Hendricks had been elected Vice-President, the traditions of politics were fully respected when Mr. Bayard was tendered and accepted the office of Secretary of State in the new President's Cabinet. This was the signal for the welding, in almost the shortest time ever known, of one of the many strong personal friendships that have so far distinguished our political life.

These men were almost the antipodes of each other. While Mr. Bayard was a well-grounded lawyer, virtually all his life—even before he had reached his majority he had made political speeches in his own State—had been passed in that public career which he both inherited and loved. He was a tireless student of the questions of the day, always called upon, by reason of his position, to express an opinion upon them in their various phases. He spoke freely and well, in spite of his then somewhat serious style, which fitted well into the Senate of that day. As he soon became the recog-

nized leader of the small minority, he was always ready to meet and oppose the party in power.

On the other hand, Mr. Cleveland was essentially a hard-working, plodding lawyer, little given to speech either in or out of court, active in politics in an effective, though limited, way, interested as a citizen and intelligent man in national concerns, but to whom these far-off events in Washington, and in great national conventions, were more an echo, a mere sound, which sometimes dimly reached him in the fastness of his busy life.

Despite these essential differences in training, ambition, and opportunity, the men who thus met on the threshold of great responsibility were singularly alike in aim and purpose. Both were inherently conservative and, at the same time, eminently progressive, seeking to preserve or attain the best, whether it was new or old. From the moment of meeting, they understood each other and began together that work and friendship which were never interrupted until death came to the elder. Not only did each know the other, and fit into his plans, but he never failed to impart to common friends the opinion he held. This was well shown by my own experience with both. Whilst absent in England, during Mr. Bayard's Ambassadorship, in the second administration, when, in the course of conversation, in 1895, the subject of the President's then recent illness came up—the precursor of that which was to cause his death—he said:

> Mr. Cleveland's death, at the present time, would be more than a personal and public misfortune: it would be a calamity. In the present delicate condition of affairs I do not believe there is a man in the

United States who could take up his work and carry it through. Do you know that, looking back over my own career, the one thing that most amazes me is that I should have presumed to let my friends present my name as a candidate for President before the same National Convention that had Mr. Cleveland's under consideration?

Since I have come to know him I realize my own temerity. Taking into account the conditions with which, then as now, the country was confronted, I should have been a failure compared with Mr. Cleveland. He has been just the man for the time, and his nomination and election over any other man who could have been mentioned was such a necessity as to be little less than Providential. Of all the men I have ever met, whether at home or abroad, Mr. Cleveland is the best poised and strongest.

The following letters confirm and strengthen Mr. Bayard's appreciation of Mr. Cleveland, as set forth in the text:

Embassy of the United States,
London, December 19, 1893.

Dear Mr. Parker:

You rightly estimate the services of Mr. Cleveland to our country. When I see him standing in the narrow pass confronting such an army of selfishness, recklessness, and ignorant passions, and, almost at the sacrifice of his life, saving the country from a disaster so profound, so far-reaching in its evil consequences, so fatal to the happiness and prosperity of its people, I find it impossible to estimate the true dimensions of his service, for I can scarcely find in history where one man has rendered greater service to his country and mankind. And, this service rendered, he is bracing his faculties for another, and against him the phalanx of

unjust privileges, who have perverted the sovereign power of public taxation into a tremendous engine for private gain, is arrayed—with every weapon that unscrupulous selfishness can devise.

But I have written more than you need to have read, and can only say that it is very irksome to me to be over here away from him and unable to render the aid I long to contribute and which he seems to need. I rejoice in the bulletin Colonel Lamont gives of Mr. Cleveland's health. Never was a life more precious to his country.

Sincerely yours,

T. F. Bayard.

George F. Parker, Esq.,
United States Consul,
Birmingham.

Embassy of the United States,
London, March 14, 1894.

Dear Mr. Parker:

I chafe a great deal in my isolation here from my friend and chieftain Mr. Cleveland. Seldom in history has it been given to any man to render more important service to his country than he has rendered since his reëlection.

In the dangerous phases of the silver coinage question he individually rescued the people of the United States from the gravest peril that has yet threatened them, and he is now the champion of liberty of persons and of contract, against consolidated wealth, intrenched behind unjust legal privileges.

I do not believe the public confidence *in him* is at all lessened, and I am sure he will live to enjoy his honest and patriotic triumph.

Very truly yours,

T. F. Bayard.

George F. Parker, Esq.,
United States Consul,
Birmingham.

III

This revelation deeply interested me because I had so often heard the President express his opinion of the Ambassador. When I returned home, and, for the first time after the latter's death, visited Mr. Cleveland in Princeton, I found him in deep grief. He could scarcely talk of anything else, and so when I came away I noted the following comments:

> In all my life, whether in public or in private station, I have never come into contact with a man who, at all times and under all circumstances, was the equal of Mr. Bayard in high and noble qualities, in singleness of purpose, and in that honesty which, while it never obtruded itself, never wavered. I do not believe that he ever so much as had a thought which was not at once lofty and patriotic. When I think of the despicable treatment accorded to him, especially by the United States Senate, at the behest of some of its members, I can but marvel at the depths to which partizan malignity will sink some men.
>
> When I look back over my own career, I cannot understand how I could have consented to oppose such a man for the Presidential nomination. I can only attribute it to ignorance. Here was a man who had behind him, as the heritage created for and by himself, the largest patriotism, a broad and comprehensive training, unequaled experience, and an almost perfect knowledge of the country and its needs, and yet, in spite of it, I, who had lived a quiet and obscure life, was preferred over him. I must confess that, even now, I cannot comprehend it, but I

can only thank God for giving me an opportunity to know Thomas F. Bayard.

I am inclined to doubt whether in the history of our politics a coincidence of this kind ever before occurred.

IV

J. Pierpont Morgan. When I saw Mr. Cleveland for a two-hour interview in Princeton, soon after the panic of October, 1907, he asked me for whatever particulars I had gathered about its management. I explained to him my understanding of the situation and how it had been saved under the masterly leadership of one man, Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, to whom, in the course of the conversation, he referred at great length, and a portion of which I quote herewith:

> I had known Mr. Morgan fairly well in a social way during my first administration and the four years that I lived in New York. I had gained an impression of him as a successful business man and had a well-defined idea of his capacity for doing great things. I must, however, confess that when it came to dealing with him on the bond issues for the purpose of replenishing the Government's stock of gold, I had a feeling, not of suspicion, but of watchfulness. Public opinion had been wrought up to a high pitch by the sensational papers, by untoward business conditions, and by the peril in which the national credit stood, so that the situation was highly critical and required the most careful handling. Acting for the Government, I was put into the position of seller, dealing, almost wholly in the view of the public, with another man who stood in the rela-

tion of buyer; and we all know how different is the point of view.

I had not gone far, however, before my doubts disappeared. I found that I was in negotiation with a man of large business comprehension and of remarkable knowledge and prescience. In an hour or two of the preliminary discussion I saw he had a clear comprehension of what I wanted and what was needed, and that, with lightning-like rapidity, he had reached a conclusion as to the best way to meet the situation. I saw, too, that, with him, it was not merely a matter of business, but of clear-sighted, far-seeing patriotism. He was not looking for a personal bargain, but sat there, a great patriotic banker, concerting with me and my advisers measures to avert peril, determined to do his best in a severe and trying crisis.

I have since watched his business career with interest, not only because he had given me aid in a time of need, but also because of the grasp he has developed upon financial and industrial conditions and the confidence he has inspired in the commercial world. When the negotiations were over I was also interested in getting from him some idea as to how he did it, so at one of our concluding sittings I asked: "Mr. Morgan, how did you know that you could command the coöperation of the great financial interests of Europe?" He replied: "I simply told them that this was necessary for the maintenance of the public credit and the promotion of industrial peace, and they did it." This gave me a new and added sense of the power of a private citizen when he united in his own person intellect and concentration, and a comprehensive knowledge of the work he was trying to do.

V

James J. Hill. Among the great captains of industry with whom Mr. Cleveland came closely into contact, on the social side, during both administrations, he was wont, in later days, to speak oftenest, perhaps, of James J. Hill. In one of my latest talks with him he said:

> Mr. Hill is one of the most remarkable men I have seen, especially in his wide knowledge of a great variety of questions, and his far-sight into industrial conditions. While I knew very little about the special questions to which he had given his life, I used, once in a while, merely in the spirit of mischief and in order to get him going, to dispute his premises and question his conclusions. He would then proceed to illustrate his contentions with a fullness of knowledge worthy of the deep student, and with an earnestness characteristic of a school-boy.
>
> He knew more about Oriental trade and its relations to the business of this country than any man I ever saw. My surprise disappeared when I learned that for ten years he had spent more money than the Government in sending competent men to Japan and China to study the needs of those countries, but it was newly aroused to find that he had checked all their reports, discarding what he deemed impracticable, and that he had absorbed their knowledge and all other that was available.
>
> When any information about freight rates on railroads was needed, there was little occasion for Mr. Hill to refer to reports or statistics. Nor was this all. I verily believe that he could have told me the rates on all the leading classes of freight between

two stations on his railroad, a hundred or two hundred miles apart. I am perfectly sure that I have never known a man who was at once familiar with so many big things and also had the gift of carrying about and comprehending what most persons so situated would deem too small for their attention.

VI

George Gray. From the circumstances surrounding his entrance into the Senate, coincidently with the beginning of Mr. Cleveland's first administration, the President was early drawn into more than friendly political relations with George Gray of Delaware. I doubt whether there was any man in that body during the period in question—and the same intimacy was carried over the interim and through the second term—who was closer in the President's confidence. Without experience in the larger public life, Mr. Gray had entered the Senate under something of a handicap, as the successor of Mr. Bayard upon his retirement, after a long and brilliant service, to accept the leading place in the Cabinet. It took, however, only a short time to show that he was fitted for safe, substantial leadership, a fact which none learned more quickly than the President, who soon began to lean on him as one of his necessary helpers.

During the succeeding years, Mr. Cleveland—in this as in most cases when he was favorably interested in men—talked about him with much freedom:

> I do not believe that I have ever come across a man better fitted for high responsibility than George Gray of Delaware. If he had lived in any State with

sufficient population and area to give it political influence, nothing could have kept him from becoming the candidate of his party for President, and a strong one he would have been. Well trained, of perfect temper and poise, conciliatory, yet firm both in opinion and purpose, fair to all, but especially true to his friends and his principles, he would represent the ideas and traditions of the Republic at their best estate.

When I saw Mr. Cleveland once, on a visit home, during the critical period following the Spanish War, he expressed the belief that the only thing which had kept the country from discarding the Philippines, and thus abandoning our new colonial system to its fate, was the fact that it had come, originally, not with the aid but with the consent of Judge Gray, and that it still had his support as an experiment. "It would be impossible," he continued, "to estimate the dominating influence of such a man in a crisis like that through which we are passing." During later years, when he was greatly concerned about the paralysis of his own party, his exclamation, perhaps made to me fifty times, always was: "Oh, if we could only have George Gray as our candidate!"

VII

Patrick A. Collins. Few men outside the circle of friends who, from the accidents of geography, lived about him, were in closer touch with Mr. Cleveland over a longer time than General Patrick A. Collins of Boston. In one of the most delicate crises of the campaign of 1884, Collins went to Albany to deliver a speech on the issues and especially upon the candidate. The two men

met as entire strangers, but the orator in his blunt, straightforward way visited the candidate, then Governor, at the Capitol. It was only for an hour or two, but, in the speech made that evening, with only this short notice, the issues, and especially the character of the candidate, were dealt with so completely, and yet so convincingly, that it was a turning-point in a period of detraction and misunderstanding.

General Collins, recounting the incident to me, at my home in Birmingham, some years later, said:

> In all my experience I have never been so much impressed with any man, upon a first interview, as I was with Mr. Cleveland. It had been thought important that I should speak just at that juncture, and I agreed to do so if Mr. Cleveland would see me and explain frankly certain events in his life then the subject of the most scandalous discussion and comment. When I went to Albany, I saw at once that, new as he was to public life, I was in the presence of one of the foremost men of our time. He told me just what I wanted to know, was as frank and open as a manly boy, and I came away, after less than an hour, determined to do everything in my power to remove unjust impressions and to render what assistance I could towards his election.

On the other side, the feeling was equally strong. In the St. Louis Convention of 1888, when Mr. Cleveland was renominated, General Collins, at the former's request, was chosen president of the body, and, all through the resulting campaign, was one of the men most in demand in discussing the issues at stake. During the interim between the first and second administra-

tions, he was one of the men whose attitude towards a third nomination was never in doubt. Left to himself, he would never have sought or accepted any preferment under the President, but three days after the election, I received a letter from William E. Russell, then Governor of Massachusetts, asking me to say to the President-elect that, although he was acting without arrangement, or the knowledge or consent of the proposed beneficiary, the only request he would make, either then or at any other time, was the appointment of Patrick A. Collins as Consul-General of the United States at London.

For the first time within my knowledge, when he was dealing with such a request, Mr. Cleveland gave his immediate assent, and I was authorized, in replying to the letter, to communicate this decision to Governor Russell. Among other things, Mr. Cleveland said:

> I think it exceedingly fitting that this appointment should be made. As a rule, I am not in favor of sending naturalized citizens in an official capacity to the countries of their birth; but, in this case, it seems to me most appropriate that it should be done. When I remember that here is a man who, coming to this country as a boy, entered a coal-mine at eleven, learned to read after he was fourteen, graduated from the Harvard Law School at twenty-one, and entered the politics of his adopted State at twenty-five, soon becoming one of her most influential citizens, it is impossible for me to imagine that any recognition that he will consent to take is too good for him.

When General Collins's term of service was ended, the same encomium was pronounced. Later, after his death while Mayor of Boston, I asked Mr. Cleveland to

write something by way of introduction to the official biography, with which, departing from a rule he had been compelled to make, he at once complied.

VIII

JOHN E. RUSSELL. It was interesting to note the variety of men drawn to Mr. Cleveland at various times during his career. In no case was this more remarkable than in that of John E. Russell of Massachusetts. He was a business man who had achieved a moderate but satisfying success comparatively early in life. As a result he had retired from the activities of business and become a farmer—not a mere experimenter with no other purpose than to spend money—a real farmer intensely interested not only in agriculture for itself, but in the people who pursued it. He also began, while still young, to travel widely, and, being naturally a student, he maintained his intellectual activity unabated, yielding to none of the temptations to luxury or idleness which often overwhelm ambition when men retire. He was especially interested, in a very real way, as a student, in economic questions, while, as a practical man, he brought to bear upon them a strong common sense fully instructed by both inclination and study.

Mr. Russell entered Congress about the time that Mr. Cleveland came into the larger public life of the country, and at once took a position of influence. He was especially attracted by the Tariff Message of 1887, and when the Mills Bill, which was framed in response to that popular appeal, came up for discussion, he took a prominent part in it and was at once brought into close relations with Mr. Cleveland, from which time few men in public life held the same interest for him as did Mr.

Russell. So closely attached was Mr. Cleveland to him that, when it came to the formation of the second Cabinet in 1893, determined, if possible, to have this office filled by a New England man, he was first choice for Secretary of the Navy. He was also tendered and declined the head of the Department of Agriculture and the mission to Italy. He did finally consent to accept an unpaid place on the United States Deep Waterways Commission, where he was associated with Dr. James B. Angell and Lyman E. Cooley.

In this case, as in that of other men who made a strong impression on his mind, Mr. Cleveland was never tired of talking of his friend. Many times over he said to me:

> I believe that of the public men with whom I have come into contact John E. Russell was the best informed on the greatest variety of questions. I am confident that he could have achieved immediate success in any branch of the Government, as there was no place he would not have adorned. He had made himself so familiar with public questions that few things were alien to him. Of quiet and cultivated tastes, but with nothing of the dilettante, a social but not a society man, he was deeply interested in all serious public questions, never sparing effort to keep himself in touch with every phase of progress. He was a remarkable example of the man who does not enter politics until late in life, after devoting himself with the utmost persistence and intelligence to the study of important questions.
>
> Mr. Russell was not an orator in the ordinary sense of that term: but, from the beginning of his public life, he spoke from such a full mind on the important problems that came before him that he soon

made himself one of the most effective debaters in Congress. He was one of those men who, upon first acquaintance, sometimes give the idea of mildness unusual among those found in the hurly-burly, but this was only the impression made by that gentleness of nature inherent in his character. He was really one of the most virile men I have ever known. His late entrance into public life, united with his graciousness of character, made him a remarkable survival into our changed conditions and always reminded me of some of the figures in our earlier history. If he had taken up politics, in a serious way, in earlier life, there was nothing to which he might not have aspired, and, whatever his success, he would have ranked with the ablest and best of our public men, just as he did almost immediately after his entrance into Congress.

Mr. Cleveland was drawn to him the more strongly because of his recognition of the fact that he fitted into the remarkable conditions which surrounded him in Massachusetts. As a man of mature years, he was a needed balance-wheel in the distinguished group of young men who, from 1888 to 1896, made Massachusetts politics the most interesting and effective seen anywhere within the last generation. "He became at once," added his friend, "an influential figure, not only in this particular life, but in the country at large. Few speakers were more in demand when the people wanted to hear the truth, well told, and to come into personal contact with a gracious and distinguished presence. It would be idle for anybody to tell me that our politics have degenerated beyond redemption so long as I can conjure up the figure of John E. Russell."

CHAPTER XXII

PARTY POSITION AND ASSOCIATIONS

I

Few men have been more firmly attached than Grover Cleveland to the party of their choice. Without inherited politics, purely by his own choice, he took his place as a supporter of the Democratic party. His convictions, not his interest or his associations, led to this decision. In 1856, he marched in a Buchanan procession in his town, and from 1858, when he cast his first vote, became a voluntary watcher at the polls for his party, a duty which he continued to perform, during all the intervening years, until his nomination for Governor in 1882. He assumed other activities and always insisted, in spite of the claims of the managers who were inclined to belittle his knowledge of politics, that perhaps he had done more work, of a practical character, than any dozen of them. So far as I am aware, no man who has become President, with the possible exception of Chester A. Arthur, ever passed through such a novitiate in actual working politics as did Mr. Cleveland. It was his often-expressed opinion that this training saved him from serious blunders when large responsibilities were suddenly thrust upon him in 1882 and during later years.

He did not wear his party garb loosely, so that even

within a few months of his death he gave ready, enthusiastic assent to my somewhat sweeping declaration: "Whatever your own party may do, it is always a mistake to vote for a Republican." With him politics was a matter of principle. In the two parties, taking one year with another, men would, in his view, tend to even themselves up, but the fundamental principles and policies remained, with only the smallest change, so that, in the end, more could be done for good causes by sticking to your guns than by abandoning them every now and then.

As his principles were simple, so he believed that the party of his choice best embodied attachment to them, and if it was adhered to, assured their final success. Out of the mass of his writings and speeches, his ideas of the functions of government were probably best summed up in a few words at the end of a sentence in his veto of the Texas Seed Bill. "The lesson should be constantly enforced," he there insisted, "that, though the people support the Government, the Government should not support the people." It is doubtful whether the socialistic tendencies of the time were ever epitomized so concisely or more truthfully, but it is certain that nothing could better have expressed Mr. Cleveland's one political creed. It may be old-fashioned, but, at least, it represents and emphasizes what this life meant in all its actions and teachings.

II

In spite of his strong attachment to his own party, he expected other men, whatever their convictions or however much he might combat them, to form their opinions upon reason and then to stick to them with the persis-

tence which was his own distinguishing characteristic. At the same time, he welcomed that large independence which was founded upon principle. If he was himself, in some degree, the beneficiary of this quality, he was, to perhaps still larger degree, its victim. Probably no man was ever prouder of his party than when more than a million of its members voted, in 1896, to rebuke the open and wanton abandonment of the principles, traditions, and precedents for which it had stood during more than a hundred years. He always contended that resentment of this betrayal was one of the finest exhibitions of lofty and unselfish patriotism seen in the history of free government. If such machinery was useful for good purposes, its use for bad ones and by designing men was so dangerous that no proper methods for preventing it should be left unused.

III

Samuel J. Tilden. I do not think that Mr. Cleveland ever met Samuel J. Tilden—which seems strange considering the part they played in the political history of the last generation. There were many things in common in their public careers, the most important being the fact that both entered practical politics late in life and that the period of the larger activity of each was short. Mr. Tilden became Governor in 1875, was nominated for President in 1876, passed through a disputed Presidential contest in 1877, declined a renomination in 1880, and, by his own act, had, by 1882, eliminated himself from public attention. He had, however, been a power in politics since 1865 and never ceased his real activities until his death in 1886.

It so happened that some of his interested and influen-

tial years were coincident with the rise to position and power of Mr. Cleveland, whose career, in its turn, closed officially in 1897, thus giving him rather a longer term of public position, but a much shorter one in influence than that of his illustrious predecessor.

IV

While Mr. Tilden was carrying on that remarkable contest with the Canal Ring in New York, as well as through the years of preparation for it, Mr. Cleveland was active, in a small way, in Democratic politics. The former had a way, in some counties, of utilizing a rather unusual class of men, and it so happened that Erie County was one of these. As a result, so far as the primary activities were concerned, Mr. Cleveland found himself antagonizing the leaders to whom the older man had intrusted his interests. It was, therefore, rather as a recognized opponent of Mr. Tilden than as a friend and supporter that the younger tried his wings in local politics. This did not arise from opposition to the policies involved, but purely to the instruments chosen to represent their author.

By 1882, this local feeling of jealousy had virtually disappeared, so that, when Mr. Cleveland's name was presented for the governorship, he found his principal supporters among the recognized and settled adherents of Mr. Tilden. The older man watched with much interest the rise of the younger, increased by the reports of his friends and still further intensified when the remarkable result of the gubernatorial election of 1882 was announced—which proved, in reality, to be another Tilden victory.

The new Governor accepted, almost as if made for him, the general policies inaugurated by Mr. Tilden. He surrounded himself with the same friends, and especially was this the case with his military secretary, Daniel S. Lamont, who had long been recognized as one of the potent Tilden lieutenants among the younger men. Behind him and many others of the same type, was Daniel Manning, perhaps the most astute, other than Mr. Tilden himself, of all the political managers developed in New York, by either party, during that remarkable period. When the time came for carrying before the country the contest for the Presidential nomination in 1884, all the distinctive friends of Mr. Tilden had rallied to the support of Mr. Cleveland, and, what was more important and influential in the country at large, the opposition to both was drawn from the same elements and forces.

V

When the nomination had been made it was only natural that Mr. Tilden should be deeply interested in the resulting campaign, and especially in the letter of acceptance, which, as a form of political document, had assumed, since the campaign of 1876, a new importance. After its preparation by Governor Cleveland, somewhere in the North Woods, and when it was ready for issue, he resolved to submit it to Mr. Tilden and to no other man. Colonel Lamont was the chosen messenger, and when he reached "Greystone" with it and told of his errand, the first question was: "Colonel, is this subject to change or amendment in any way?" "Not in a single word," was the reply. "The Governor asked me to read it to you with as much care and as many times as you

might like; but it is finished, is ready for publication, and, as I shall not see him again before it is issued, it cannot be changed either in wording or arrangement."

With Mr. Tilden, when the reading began, was the late Andrew H. Green, long and closely associated with him. For some unknown reason, he was very strongly opposed to Mr. Cleveland, and as the slow and careful reading of the letter proceeded, at some sentiment or phrase which was unsatisfactory to him he grunted out a contemptuous "Huh, huh, huh!" This was repeated three or four times, until finally Mr. Tilden—who was a remarkably well-poised and polite man—tired of these unseemly exclamations, turned round sharply upon Mr. Green and said, with the greatest emphasis and in the most peremptory manner: "Oh, shut up!" after which the reading went on to the end, with Mr. Tilden's approval of both the form and the tone of the letter.

VI

After the election, Mr. Tilden—whose knowledge of our financial conditions was larger than that of any other man of his period—saw the great peril that lurked in the continued coinage of silver under the Bland-Allison Act, and, through a friend, communicated his fears to the President-elect, with the suggestion that he should write a letter setting forth his views. So, on February 24, 1885, only eight days before the inauguration, there was published the letter addressed to "A. J. Warner and other members-elect of the new Congress" —the famous document in which the danger of the then existing conditions was pointed out, and a change of policy was recommended and enforced.

As Mr. Cleveland was in the throes of preparing his inaugural address and of completing his Cabinet, he had little time for writing such an important paper—short though it was to be. At Mr. Tilden's suggestion, he consented to its preparation by the late Manton Marble and signed it as his own. I should not like to estimate the number of times Mr. Cleveland told me this story, always accompanied by its sequel: "Whether as Mayor, Governor, or President, that was the first and last time I ever signed anything either enunciating or advocating a policy which was not written wholly by myself," and I am sure that nothing in all his public career caused him deeper regret.

It was not that he resented the doctrines set forth, because they were in full accord with his own ideas, or even the form, and the declaration was the first in a long line of consistent arguments which, to the end of his days, he never ceased to enforce with all his energy and power. But he did resent what he characterized as his own weakness in permitting another to do for him what he ought to have done himself.

As an effect of this, when I came, in the collection of his writings and speeches, in 1892, to this first authorized expression on the silver question, it was with some difficulty that I was able to overcome his objections and to obtain leave to include it. Even then he insisted: "Some day, if you outlive me, I want you to make this story public." I now redeem the promise then made.

Out of this resentment of signing, under protest, the work of another, Mr. Cleveland told, during his last year, with great glee and at his own expense, the following story:

> Early in my career, perhaps after my first election to the Presidency, and when public knowledge of me

was still slight, some one asked Mr Tilden: "What sort of man is this Cleveland?" "Oh," was the reply, in that thin, squeaky voice which characterized his later years, "he is the kind of man who would rather do something badly for himself than to have somebody else do it well."

VII

A GREAT deal is talked and written about the great State of New York and the place it holds or should hold in the politics of the Union, but whatever it may or may not contribute, sight should not be lost of the fact that, since the close of the Civil War, it has given to public life two men of the very first rank. These two men succeeded each other as party leaders, their careers lapping for a considerable period. Samuel J. Tilden and Grover Cleveland certainly understood each other, if this was ever given to two men, and that, too, in spite of any seeming clash or the jealous watchfulness of their friends.

The survivor summed up the characteristics of the other in words so few and fit that they might with equal propriety stand as the epitaph of both. In writing to the Kings County Democratic Club, under date of February 2, 1888, in reply to an invitation to attend a banquet on Tilden's birthday, Mr. Cleveland said:

> He [Tilden] taught the limitation of Federal power under the Constitution, the absolute necessity of public economy, the safety of a sound currency, honesty in public place, the responsibility of public servants to the people, care for those who toil with their hands, a proper limitation of corporate privileges, and a reform of the Civil Service.

VIII

David B. Hill. There was a vague impression in the public mind, during many years, that some kind of natural and unhealable antagonism had arisen between Mr. Cleveland and David B. Hill, as the result of the success of the State ticket in 1888 and the coincident defeat of the Presidential electors. It was a matter seldom mentioned or discussed by or with him in the interval between his two terms in the Presidency. He never seriously regretted his own defeat, save for an occasional reference to what he might have done in matters of Federal taxation and expenditure if he could have had another four years in which to develop the remarkable policies just fairly inaugurated. In 1906, however, the subject came up as a topic of conversation, and, for the first time, either to me or in my presence, he spoke of it with great freedom.

> I want you sometime to correct the false impression abroad that I either have, or had, any idea or impression that the Presidential ticket was the victim of treachery in New York in the election of 1888. Nobody could understand better than I how that seemingly contradictory result was reached. My campaign for reëlection was, of necessity, made upon a single national issue so forced to the front that, as I had foreseen, there was no such thing as evading it, even if my party or myself had so desired.
>
> On the other hand, the State campaign had issues peculiar to itself, with their own supporters, men to whom the tariff had, from a business and political point of view, only the remotest interest. The brew-

ers had their own organization for the purpose of protecting the property under their management and jurisdiction. They had the right to use their power for their own protection, and that they exercised this right and power in their own way, in no way constituted a grievance so far as the Presidential ticket was concerned. If they could attract votes from a weak and unpopular Republican candidate—supposed to be inimical to them—to his opponent who would be fair because he was strong, they had a perfect right to do so. I had had sufficient experience in State politics to understand the whole situation and never permitted myself to reproach Governor Hill or his friends for the untoward result so far as I was personally concerned.

I have never ceased to admire and praise Governor Hill for his clean, high-minded administration of the affairs of the great State of New York. It kept down taxation, and was efficient in carrying out the traditional ideas of his party and our institutions.

IX

In connection with this opinion expressed so many times by Mr. Cleveland, and here condensed into narrow limits, it is interesting to record Mr. Hill's own impressions after his reëlection as Governor in 1888 and the coincident defeat in New York of the Democratic Presidential electors. As soon as the returns were fully known, Governor Hill said to his particular friend, Alton B. Parker, since Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals in New York and Democratic candidate for President in 1904:

This ends me as a Presidential candidate, whether for nomination or election. No explanation either by myself or my friends can make headway against the logic of events. Unjust as these inferences are, nothing will ever convince the party that I was not to blame in some way, either direct or mysterious, for the result in this State which showed my election and the defeat of the Presidential ticket with Mr. Cleveland at its head. It is one of the penalties of politics that no man must succeed at the expense of his associates on a party ticket—whether this success comes with or without his procurement or knowledge.

Nobody knows better than you that this is a result which I have feared, because of the intense concentration of effort upon the Presidential ticket, and I know also that Mr. Cleveland himself fully understands and appreciates the conditions. But this will make no difference in the popular feeling, so that I shall always be held responsible for this untoward result—one which I have not only had no share in producing, but from which every element in my character recoils.

X

William E. Russell. Only those closely associated with Mr. Cleveland from 1885 to 1893 can understand or appreciate the quality of the men whom he gathered about him and those, of the same type, who followed from afar off. Many of them, indeed far more than a majority, never saw the man whom they followed, and he never consciously thought of himself as their leader. All were united for work in a cause to which they were devoted. Certainly never before in the history of the

country were so many congenial spirits drawn together, and probably there never will be again such devotion to an idea lying outside the so-called moral movements or agitations.

It is difficult to discriminate among those who served in this army, organized not for reform or revolution, but for the maintenance of national traditions. But it may be permissible to name, in William E. Russell of Massachusetts, one man typical of the rest. Coming into political activity in his State soon after the advent of the Cleveland ideas and methods, he forged rapidly to the front, so that he soon came to represent these at their best estate. Young, active, ambitious on the best lines, and capable of commanding the devotion of like-minded men everywhere, he was not long in commanding recognition as their leader.

If there was any secret about the rise of Governor Russell it was that he was the embodiment of the aspirations and the work of the most earnest and enthusiastic band of young men ever associated for work in common. He was merely the voice and the expression of this leadership. If a subject was to be studied, there were a dozen, or fifty, or a hundred of the best educated and most intelligent young men in the State ready and anxious to do the work and to put the results before "Billy" Russell. If there were not enough of them among the families traditionally Democratic, it was easy and natural to draw recruits from like families with Republican teaching and training.

Many of them were themselves effective speakers, but Governor Russell was their mouthpiece. If an agreed policy was to be exploited, he had the ear of the people of the entire State, so that the cause, in which all were enlisted, was sure to command a sympathetic hearing.

Thus, when it was concluded to canvass the whole State on the tariff question, it was possible so to present the arguments that every local industry was available to illustrate the Cleveland point of view, which was brought home to each typical community. There were no appeals to class or local interests, because the ideas involved were too large and general for that. But Russell had the gift of mastering a question by assimilating all the facts gathered by others, and of pressing them home with a force and a persuasiveness seldom equaled in our history. In this way he became more than a man: he was a syndicate.

XI

Early in his career, Governor Russell became intimate with Mr. Cleveland, especially after the latter's removal to Massachusetts as a summer resident. It was an association based upon congenial opinions about public questions, but soon became personal. From this time forward, everything great was expected of the brilliant and practical young man who so successfully reflected and represented the best sentiment of New England, and, so far as my own observation and knowledge went, I am certain that the loss of no other political friend of his time—except Mr. Bayard—was more deeply felt by Mr. Cleveland. He firmly believed that, with Russell alive and active, the future of the party would have been assured, and no effort on his part was wanting to impress this conclusion upon others. It would be safe to say that from the day that the death of William E. Russell, in the Maine woods, was reported to Mr. Cleveland, he lost confidence, though not hope, in the maintenance of his party as he had known it.

CHAPTER XXIII

STYLE IN WRITING AND SPEECH

I

WHEN Mr. Cleveland came into the higher public life he had had little experience in either writing or speaking. He had been a reader, in early life, of poetry, and he knew the Bible very well —much of it, as was the habit of the time, having been committed to memory. But the stirring events in the midst of which he lived and the necessity for taking up hard work at an early age had made it impossible for him, over a period of many years prior to 1881, to maintain his studies. He was fairly diligent in keeping up with the political discussion of the day, whether contentious or constructive, written or spoken, but even this was done without system or any purpose of studying style. He made speeches on occasions that seemed to him important enough to lead him to overcome his disinclination to this exercise. He was never available for canvassing his county and, when elected Governor, had probably never taken part as a speaker in any public meeting outside of the limits of Erie County.

And yet from the day that he came into the larger public view, he both spoke with ease and wrote with a certain clearness, so that no one could have an excuse

for misunderstanding or misinterpreting what he said or wrote. He had a rather unusual facility for offhand or extempore speech, but, as his position exposed him to misrepresentation, he could seldom be induced to use this gift.

II

Everything was prepared with a care, a patience, and an effort—all of which, for a man of his commanding abilities, were unusual. He would study for days over a question—whether it was familiar to him or not. He had a way of saying that he wanted to see it on every side so that he would not make more mistakes than he was entitled to. Then he would think it over carefully, turn it in his mind, until he had fairly saturated himself, and get a point of view which must commend itself wholly to his reason, with only the smallest regard either to preconceived or popular opinion. He made few notes, except for dates and historical facts, for which his memory had no serious liking, but would write a first or rough draft of his speech, generally making it much longer than he wanted. This draft was cut and carved until it had only a slight resemblance to its original form, when a fair copy would be made, always in his own handwriting. Then the process of destruction and reconstruction would begin over again, and a new fair copy be made.

By this time it had nearly reached finality so far as form was concerned. He would then go over it again for purely verbal niceties or for the insertion of new thoughts that had come to him. Here, if the conditions were favorable, that is, if the right friend was at hand, he must listen to the careful reading aloud of the now

nearly completed speech or public letter. This was first done in a direct, straightforward way, not subject to interruption. He desired, in this way, not only to discover how it would sound when spoken or read, but, if it was in the form of a speech, how long it would take in the delivery. The latter test was always sure to be misleading, for the reason that, no matter how deliberately he might read it in his study, it would always take at least one fourth more time to deliver it when he found an audience before him.

After it had been subjected to this process it was read aloud again for suggestions, for the elimination of tautological word or phrase, and for such other modifications as might suggest themselves either to reader or listener. He wanted real criticism—not mere formal adherence to his point of view. Generally speaking, I may say that, aside from verbal changes promptly made when he was convinced that they were good—for his native obstinacy, which he always insisted was his principal virtue, would often come out—I have seldom known him to insert a suggested paragraph, and then never in the exact form prepared for him; but it was comparatively easy, in general, to convince him that he ought to leave out a paragraph, a sentence, or a phrase, as redundant, or clumsy, or impolitic.

III

All these processes completed, he was ready for the final fair copy, which was still to be read aloud again and in which unimportant verbal changes might be made. In this last, the copying of the whole impressed it upon his mind in its spoken form, as his remarkably retentive memory then took such fast hold upon it that it never

again let go until the time of need had passed. It was next put into type, the revised proofs carefully read, the insignificant changes in phraseology noted, both on paper and in the memory, and the work was done.

I have never known a man who took the same unfailing care, or showed the unwearied industry and untiring patience that characterized him. When the time came for the delivery of the speech, he would go over it, while dressing, just before his appearance at the dinner or other occasion, and would never see or think of it again. I had the curiosity once to follow him by the printed copy as sent to the press, with the result that, in the whole three quarters of an hour consumed in its delivery, he only made a single change: substituting one synonym for another. Once prepared, he gave himself no further trouble, either as to dinner or conversation, or any of the interruptions which so often disconcert the public speaker. He did not willingly consent to appear in public, but, as it was necessary for him to do so, he went fully prepared to give his audience the best that was in him, and then troubled himself no more.

The following, written when, in December, 1890, he was struggling with an Andrew Jackson birthday speech, shows some of his difficulties in getting under way:

> After a good deal of search, the book containing the executive messages, including all of Jackson's, has been found among my books. With what you kindly sent me this afternoon I think I have all I want to get on for to-day, at least in my blundering way. I have no idea where I shall bring up, but I shall plug along to-day and to-morrow, hoping that I shall be led along into a pretty fair path.

This expresses a feeling pretty common with him, and uses a form of words very often in his mouth or on

his pen. "In my blundering way," was one of his stock phrases when referring to anything that he had to write for the public, and it did express a real mental attitude with him. He so dreaded the work of writing and rewriting, and was by nature so averse to public appearances, with their abnormal strain, and the personal attention and flattery which were so hateful to him, that this letter described both a state of mind and a process.

IV

So far did Mr. Cleveland carry the spirit of independence in the matter of ideas that, if some one made a suggestion about a speech, or political document, or letter, he would, perhaps, seem either hostile or indifferent to it. In many cases, it might be new to him, or be capable of a novel or striking application, but because it had not occurred to him, or from his fear that he might be beholden to others, he would reject it out of hand. However, he did not forget it, and, as he thought it over, it would grow on him until, in probably two or three days, he would become convinced that it was an excellent idea. In the meantime, however, it had passed through the crucible of his mind, and any property in it, or any credit the original possessor might have had, would have disappeared, and a complete transfer had been effected. In other words, he must think himself original, whether he was or not, a quality which, after all, demonstrated his power of adaptation and made his associates of the utmost use to him.

This was illustrated many times in my own experience, until I finally recognized that if I desired him to use a suggestion, it must be given to him in some such form

as that already described. Once when he was to make a Pilgrim Day speech in Brooklyn, I sent him an editorial on this subject which I had written, a year or two earlier, for a New York newspaper. Before it reached him he had begun his address, which contained words almost identical with my own. He at once wrote from Lakewood, citing the parallel passages, so that there might be no opportunity for confusion as to originality or suggestion:

I 'll tell you a curious thing illustrating the saying, "Great minds run in the same channel." I had begun my New England dinner speech[1] and will cut out and send you a sentence which may look familiar to you if you remember the opening paragraph in your editorial[2] of two years ago.

V

While Mr. Cleveland devoted this care and attention to all the forms of public utterance, his private letters were composed with an ease which showed that he knew just what he wanted to say and how to say it. These were written with his own hand, and, while not revised or rewritten, either by himself or another, were clear, generally concise, and went directly to the point. His humor or playfulness often found vent in them, but he was as little wont, in them as in public utterances, to indulge himself in irony, or satire, or figures of speech.

[1] The Speech: "We used to see in almanacs, opposite certain days of the year upon which we were entering, the prophetic words, 'Look out for rain about these days.' It would hardly be amiss to find now in our almanacs opposite the latter part of December, 'About these days, look out for the Pilgrims.'"

[2] The Editorial: "If the old-fashioned almanac could come back, there would certainly be found among the entries within the present calendar week this one, or something like it: 'About this time, look out for speeches about the Pilgrims and the Puritans.'"

He would so allude to his sports as to show that, while he enjoyed them, he still did not look upon them as the chief business of life. Writing me from Marion, Massachusetts, in 1890, he said: "I spend my time principally fishing and answering letters. Correspondence, like the villain, still pursues me. I am having a good-for-nothing time, which, for a vacation, I suppose to be the best sort." Again, later from the same place, he took up the same theme: "I am 'at this present sitting' the laziest man in America by all odds, and I sometimes fear that I have lapsed into a chronic state of worthlessness." From Saranac Inn he announced: "I have not seen a deer yet, but expect to get a shot during the coming week. Of course, you know that means a dead one."

VI

Perhaps there were few things more dreaded than dictation to a stenographer, and Mr. Cleveland never resorted to it, even for his routine correspondence, until in July, 1892, when, with a national campaign on his hands, he was living far off at Buzzards Bay, where he could not shift any part of the burden. So, during that year, when, according to a letter, he was "working till two o'clock every morning trying to get from under a snowslide of letters with very little success," he consented to employ a secretary, Robert Lincoln O'Brien of Boston, a young man who, being intelligent and efficient, was of great assistance to him both then, and, later in Washington, for a year or so in his second term. But dictation was a very difficult art for him to master—in fact, he never pretended to master it. He was very awkward at it, and the resulting letters were apt to be diffuse

and inconclusive, while those of his own writing were always concise and informing. To the very end, he only used this aid—which has become a necessity for the modern business or public man—in the most unimportant cases. His resort was still the pen.

This was well shown, upon the occasion of his sixty-ninth birthday, in March, 1906. There was not only the usual flood of letters on this occasion: but a group of his friends had come together and agreed to write, in a limited endless chain, to their friends and his, asking them to write or telegraph to him in Florida, where he was having a short winter vacation. It was also agreed, at the same time, that, in my capacity as secretary to the trustees of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, of which he was Chairman, I should communicate with him and offer to take up the routine work of having the answers type-written from a few forms, sending them to him for signature.

The number was great, and as his friends had procured the sending of many of them, they thought it unfair to burden him with the heavy task of writing answers. They had little hope of making any favorable impression upon him, an opinion which was fully confirmed by the following extract from a letter received in reply to my offer: "I have received your last letter and am much obliged for your offer to attend to the acknowledgment of the letters and despatches of congratulation. I determined, however, to do it myself in my own handwriting and have already responded to a large portion of them." He not only did this, but he even deemed it necessary to write me a separate letter in reply to my own congratulations.

VII

In the days when I was editing his writings and speeches, it was, naturally, necessary for me to see him almost every day about some phase of the work in hand. He had never kept any copies of his earlier speeches, and some that I found had been actually forgotten as to time or place. He would have in his mind some vague idea that he had spoken somewhere upon some particular topic. The subject, the tenor of his speech, and its bearings upon a question that might come up again for discussion, would be firmly fixed in his mind, but all other particulars would have vanished. His memory, so keen upon many sides, was unusually treacherous in others.

He had not the smallest pride in anything that he had done so far as the keeping of copies, or giving the smallest thought to its preservation, was concerned. And yet, when I came upon some out-of-the-way utterance, and brought it to him for verification, it would give him much pleasure, and he would often say: "Well, I had nearly forgotten that speech, but I don't believe I have ever since expressed that particular idea so well anywhere else." It was often necessary, owing to bad printing or worse proof-reading, to produce a fair text out of sentences and paragraphs almost hopelessly mixed.

Seeing, then, the necessity for this work, he became interested in it, and many touches, intensely enlightening about the beginnings of his political career, would come out. One of the most interesting of these was the conclusion, easily reached by me, that his whole public career, great and commanding though it was, had come to him without even the smallest calculation on his part. I could never detect any signs of early ambition for po-

sition or power, and to this I attribute the almost absolute impossibility for him to understand the men whose lives, from their earliest days, had been devoted to the seeking of one office after another, always keeping the Presidency in mind as a goal.

He often expressed the opinion that while men like himself, without experience or aspirations, who had been preferred for high places, were forced to overcome many handicaps from lack of knowledge of the larger conditions, the type of men under discussion had become, as it were, *blasé* in politics, had formed so many connections all along the line of ascent, incurred obligations to so many sorts of people, and weakened themselves by so many intrigues and compromises, that they could seldom command a nomination, much less an election. While he recognized that he himself was in no sense an accident, but one who took the highest steps all at once instead of slowly—one who illustrated Cromwell's saying that no man climbs so high as he who knows not whither he is going—he always expressed the conviction that this method of selection was one of the incidents of popular government, and that, on the whole, it had commended itself by its success from the days of Jackson downward.

VIII

Occasionally, the question of style, especially as applied to his own writing and speaking, would come up in conversation, and he would lament what he termed the absence of this quality in him. He would say:

> People sometimes talk about my style, but I have never been able to discern that I have any such thing about me. I have not had time to do anything in the

way of preparation for duties or work that might not come my way. It is seldom, so far as writing or speech is concerned, that the work I was doing at any particular time could be looked upon as preliminary to another kind of work that has followed, that I could either consciously or unconsciously make one thing a preparation for another. I have always sought to do the thing actually in hand in a manner as respectable and effective as I could, leaving the rest to take care of itself. In this way, as you have seen, I could make no calculations, and, for this reason, if for no other, I have had to rely upon the day for the performance of its duties.

He said that he had not found time to study continually the models of our language, as one ought to do and as he must do if he would master it; so he had to be contented with a vocabulary that just met his needs at the time. "In no respect," he often declared with emphasis, "can I be said to have a style which either so stands out that I can be recognized by it—and this is one of the tests—or that has in it any of the elements of eloquence and polish, also a necessary quality." Again he would say: "No, I have no style. I simply say what is in my mind and seems to be necessary at the time, and say it in my blundering way, and that is all there is to it."

IX

His conversation, when with a single friend or in a group of men who understood him, was clean-cut, full of reminiscence, always plain and clear, and without a trace of the pedantic or the involved. It was much clearer

than his writing, and the pity is that more of his friends and associates have not noted down and reported his opinions upon the many men and questions that lay, to some extent, outside the public life by which he is known and must, in the main, be judged.

If an unknown or unwelcome auditor came in, or if some question involving bitterness of feeling towards a man, a party, or a sect, should come up, or if some flunky sought to make terms with him, he could be as silent as General Grant. He was certainly at his best, so far as geniality was concerned, with three companions, all well known to him and thoroughly in his confidence, at a plain old-fashioned dinner in his own house. Those privileged to participate could never forget the ease, the freedom, the fun, the playfulness, the cleanliness of word and thought, or the ability to listen as well as to talk. Such nights were marked with a red letter by the congenial spirits who had been afforded an opportunity thus to see, in undress, the mind of the man who belonged in the front rank of his time.

CHAPTER XXIV

PUBLIC OPINION—LEGISLATION—COURTS

I

PUBLIC OPINION. In spite of his political experience and assured position there were two important developments in our modern American public life to which Mr. Cleveland would never adjust himself, namely, the dealing with newspapers in such a way as to command sympathy or support rather than irritation or opposition, and that other, the art of managing legislative bodies. Both are curious developments in the history of democracy, revealing many of its weaknesses, while, at the same time, permitting the strong and assertive man in high executive office, on the one hand, to create or follow public sentiment, and, on the other, to give it a practical direction or guidance in the absence of which it has become next to impossible either to promote or prevent changes.

Throughout my narrative examples have been cited to show how lacking the subject of my study was in the gift of dealing with newspapers or even, of his own thought and motion, of obtaining anything like fair publicity for the worthy and useful objects he sought to promote. He did not care to deal either with them or with the men who made or directed policies or the others

whose function it was to do the practical work. He would neither court any man, nor permit any man to court or flatter him, and this, of course, was the fundamental reason why, as a public man, he would have nothing to do with newspaper editors or proprietors. The permanent antagonisms that he aroused were due almost wholly to this quality. He not only would not go out of his way to invite such men to luncheons, or dinners, or to social occasions, but he would not do so at all. If this method was suggested, he would reject such overtures with a positiveness that shortened many an interview.

II

THERE was no time when he could not have had the most enthusiastic support of the newspapers of his own party for anything that he might have wanted, within reason. He had only to do as others had done before him and have done after him; but it was impossible. Within a few months of his death he said to me:

> I simply could not and would not use these methods to ingratiate myself with the editors or owners of newspapers. I realized fully the fate that I invited, but I looked upon my table or my parlor as my own, places reserved for my friends and for the congenial men whom they might send to me, and not proper mediums for bringing me support for public acts or policies. Merely because men were personally agreeable did not seem to me to constitute any reason for making myself familiar with them. I know that others in like positions pursue a different policy, but I notice that, in the end, they always suffer for it. Such methods grow by what they feed on.

> If an official, with a duty to the whole public, so far forgets his own dignity or that of his great office to court some part of the people by appeals to that vanity which, for reasons I could never understand, wants to shine with a reflected light, retribution is certain to come when power has gone, if not before. No, I should prefer, for reputation's sake, to take my chances, even in the face of what has seemed to be a bitter opposition, than to have resorted to methods which now seem to be accepted as a necessary way for moving public opinion. I am really thankful that the efforts to create an unconscious, but effective, censorship of the press never had encouragement from me at any point in my public career.

While he held close relations with the editors and owners of papers in the smaller cities, he never relaxed this attitude of watchfulness in dealing with those in New York. He was still more shy of correspondents and reporters. He wanted them to have real news, but he objected to giving it as a favor which, in its turn, should bring him another. As no paper could have any claim to represent him, he was equally free from any such connection with any writer. He never gave his full confidence to any man so related to a metropolitan newspaper, whether editor or reporter, and if any man so engaged thought he had conquered such a place, he was only deceiving himself.

III

While this unbending attitude was taken both from principle and policy, no man could be more appreciative

of the care shown by his friends to place fairly before the public on high lines those points in his career in which he as well as readers were interested. Such things must be done unselfishly and without any consultation with him. If the latter was attempted, he was certain to discourage the effort. At such times, he would express the strongest appreciation of a friendly act, though fearing that the writer had been put to unusual trouble and really assuming an apologetic attitude. This was well shown in a letter written to me from Marion, Massachusetts, in August, 1890, after the publication in a New York newspaper of a short sketch of his career—a piece of work done in the regular course of daily work:

I feel that you will not misunderstand me nor the spirit in which I write if I frankly assure you that of all the things I have seen written of me and my career I like what you wrote, which appeared in *The Press,* the best.

I want to tell you, too, how much pleased I was with what you did for Mr. Gilder in the matter of the Independent Voter. It was wonderfully done, and Gilder is intensely pleased with the manner by which you have set words to ideas which he has been for a long time anxious to have put in shape.

Sometimes he would get into a playful mood over these things, only the more surely to reveal his gratitude. This was shown in a letter from Gray Gables, in July, 1891, when, in acknowledging the receipt of some magazines containing a compilation of his sayings, he wrote:

I deeply blushed when I read the *Belford* article which introduced the "Wit and Wisdom." I hardly have the face to distribute the magazines you so generously sent me. I have put one of them off on Gilder and another on a Providence friend. I think I shall try Joe Jefferson for one, and I shall

send some to the members of my family. After all, I was very glad to receive them, and have no doubt that I shall want every one of them.

IV

It is almost impossible, in the present day, with its new methods, to comprehend the rigidity of Mr. Cleveland's attitude towards the press, but, without knowledge of it, it would be difficult to understand his life and public career. He made opinion, so long as he was active, not by courting at every turn the various forms in which it found expression, but by maintaining a personal dignity that became him and his place in the world: not by antagonizing it, in the last resort, but by giving it something real and substantial upon which to carry his message laden with ideas and principles.

V

Legislatures. The other art which lay beyond Grover Cleveland's purview was that of managing and directing legislative bodies. He did not know how to coax or wheedle, and this ability must, of course, lie at the foundation of executive control of the course of legislation and the shaping of its action to the wishes of an executive. A governor who asks a powerful boss to retire to private life a potent member of a legislative body, and boldly invokes his own "personal comfort" as the reason for his request, is not likely to bend himself to the demands made by the official associates of such a man.

A direful objurgation of Congress is not promotive, among its members, of that harmony and affection

which would naturally command services from such a body. If Mr. Cleveland resented the office-seeking propensity which has been developed in legislative bodies as being what he termed an encroachment upon the prerogatives of the executive, he felt, in like manner, that for a President or governor thus to purchase support was, in its turn, no less dangerous and reprehensible as an encroachment upon the rights and powers of the legislature. He wanted only what belonged to him, and hence he looked upon this exchange of powers as a direct interference and an ever-present danger.

VI

Here, as in the management of newspapers, he was unalterably opposed to the use of the social influence of the Executive Mansion for controlling legislation. He did not invite men—and, what is far more potent, he did not have his wife invite women—to dinners, or luncheons, or receptions, for the purpose of commanding votes for or against some measure pending in Congress, however much he was interested in its success or defeat. He vetoed more bills than all his predecessors combined, but when these messages had been transmitted they must take their own course. He forced through Congress the repeal of the silver-purchase law, but he did it by a dogged, tireless insistence that the country was in peril, and not by purchase in any of the infinite forms it takes in our modern life.

If the saying, generally attributed to Walpole, that "every man has his price" has any truth in it, Mr. Cleveland did not know it, because, with all the great resources of patronage and social power in his hands, he

did not use them for such purposes. It follows that, if there are faults in his record in this respect, they were to him the pride of his life, and he firmly believed that if he had done his country any service it was in registering what in many quarters would be deemed dismal failures, though to his mind they were numbered with his conspicuous successes.

VII

THE JUDICIARY. Few responsible men have been more strongly attached to the independence of the courts or more solicitous for its maintenance. He said to me within a few months of his death:

> The most serious difficulty confronting this country is that of maintaining the supremacy of law, and this can only be done by inspiring respect for the judgments of our courts. All the enemies of our society and institutions, and of the dominance in them of the civil power, recognize, as if by instinct, that if they would break them down or undermine them, it can only be done by reducing our courts to impotence. If their decrees are not respected, or the judges who preside over them are not men of the highest reputation for ability and fairness, then all the forces of discontent will unite in an assault upon them.
>
> To me, nothing can be more deplorable than that open criticism of the decisions of courts which, all at once, has become fashionable on the part of executive officers, whether Presidents, governors, mayors, or whatever the rank or position. They are danger-

signals, and failure to see them may introduce practices which will threaten the independence of the courts.

VIII

He took great pride in his judicial appointments, coupled with regret that the pay of judges was so meagre that he had not always been able to command the services of lawyers of the first reputation in the community. But he persevered until he found men suitable in both learning and character and that other quality, the judicial mind, which, he insisted, was, after all, the most vital qualification. When President, he would seldom speak of the judges he had appointed, and as far as seeking, while in office, to discuss with any one of them a case pending in any court, he would as easily have cut off his right hand. After his retirement he followed with interest the decisions of the judges of his appointment, and noted their jealous care in upholding the principles for which our English race had contended through so many centuries.

He overlooked none of the amenities when making appointments to the higher courts, consulting the judges as to the standing of the men whose names were under consideration and ascertaining their acceptance as associates. He also drew freely upon leading lawyers for advice. He was thus little given to springing surprises in judicial appointments, and that, too, in spite of the fact that in this, as in other forms of patronage, he chose a good many men who had not been persistently pushed upon him. Indeed, he resented pressure more strongly in this field than in any other. When it fell to his lot to appoint a chief justice of the Court of

Claims he never considered any other name than that of Charles C. Nott, an associate justice since the organization of the court; but he did not make this nomination until convinced that no question could possibly arise about the pension when the time for retirement should come.

By reason of the high standard he had set, no man could have proven more successfully than Mr. Cleveland both his high regard for the courts, looked upon as institutions, and his determination to maintain them as bulwarks of liberty and progress. If nothing else had tended to separate him from some of the leaders of his party, in later days, their attitude towards the courts would have been amply sufficient to produce this effect.

IX

THE CHIEF JUSTICE. In 1890, he said one day:

> When I had to assume the responsibility of appointing a chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, in succession to Morrison R. Waite, my first impulse, after the post had been declined by John G. Carlisle, then Speaker of the House, was to tender the office to James C. Carter, or some other eminent advocate or leader of the bar, or to Mr. Phelps, then our Minister to the Court of St. James. Upon consultation with the associate justices, I found that some elements, generally overlooked, had to be considered. I discovered that the Supreme Court, like all others, was accustomed to get so far behind in its business that, in many cases, it took nearly three years to carry important cases to it from the State or lower Federal courts.

The justices informed me that, as the court could not be enlarged, because both public and legal opinion were opposed to this process, the one thing needed was a chief justice who, in addition to high legal knowledge and the judicial quality, should also be a man of efficiency as a business manager. This put the whole question before me in a new light, and I delayed the nomination for a time until I could look about and find the lawyer who should possess all the usual qualifications and also this new one. This was a determining factor in the choice of Melville W. Fuller, then almost a stranger.

I am glad to know that my judgment has been justified by results. Within a year, under the new management, the business of the court was brought so thoroughly under control that the old-time delays began gradually to disappear, and I have since had the satisfaction of knowing that, while the Chief Justice has shown himself an industrious, safe, and able judge, he has also commended himself as probably the best business manager ever seen at the head of a Federal court. He has been able so to systematize its work as to eliminate the law's delays so far as this is possible.

CHAPTER XXV

FRIENDSHIPS—RELIGION

I

PERSONAL FRIENDS. In the matter of personal friendships, Mr. Cleveland's life was divided into two parts almost as distinct as those which separated his early professional and business activities from his better known and shorter public career. Change of scene, change of idea and purpose, and change of outlook upon the world—all united to make new associations a necessity. He never consciously forgot or neglected his old friends for new ones: but the whole process of his life was more nearly allied to a transformation than to a mere shifting of position and work.

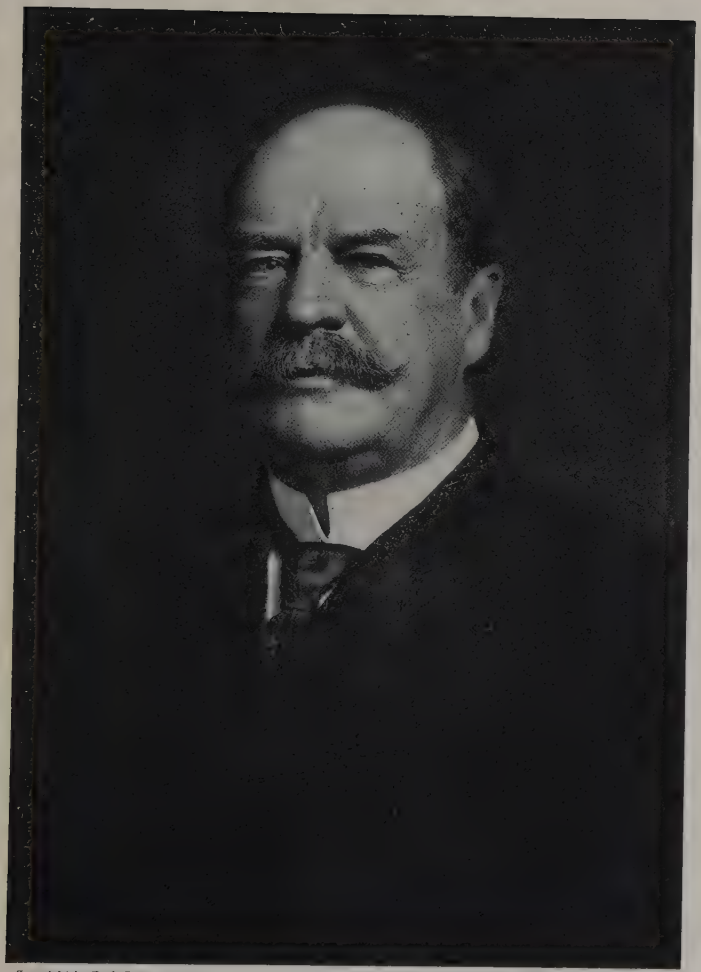
When he became Governor, he did not take with him to Albany one man with whom he had been intimate during the years preceding 1883. His private secretary was strange to him; he had met only in the most casual way his confidential political adviser, Edgar K. Apgar. No friend from Buffalo or elsewhere was preferred for an influential place—that is, one that brought him near to the Governor or any other. He did take with him, both to Albany and Washington, where he became steward of the White House, William Sinclair, whom he had come to know, in his club, as a trustworthy and efficient servant.

No man from Buffalo or from his old home district was even seriously considered when it came to choosing his first Cabinet, and, in the second, the appointment of Wilson S. Bissell, mainly because he had been an intimate of many years' standing, was as distinctly political as any other then made. Generally speaking, he had a gift for looking past the man of minor importance both in the promotion of his own personal success in the way of commanding a nomination and seeing the real man in power. In New York, this policy had brought him right up to Daniel Manning, so, without asking any questions about the past at home, this was the man put to the front. Every nomination for office had come to him with no seeking by himself, and was so largely the outcome of his own availability for the place to be filled, that his real obligations to associates were always minimized.

II

He often expressed the opinion that the people of Buffalo scarcely appreciated the delicacy or the difficulty of his position after he was drafted into the service of the State and the country, believing that, as both Governor and President, he would have been more popular in the city in which he had so long resided if he had never seen it.

His real friends were most considerate and brought no severe or undue pressure upon him, but the smaller politicians, the ambitious men, who, though strangers to him, thought that, in the accident of geography, their time had come, and the others who presumed upon a slight acquaintance, flocked to Albany or to Washington, and, when they failed to get what they wanted, by



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DR. JOSEPH D. BRYANT

Surgeon-General on Governor Cleveland's staff, personal friend, and family physician

way of office or power, their cry of disappointment rent the air. Even he himself did not, perhaps, fully appreciate what it all meant. He was busy with the largest policies, treating them with the utmost seriousness, while each of these pushing persons was concentrating attention on his own pet lamb, the little thing nearest his mind and heart.

His real friends in Buffalo did not press, or misunderstand, or misrepresent him, and never lost his confidence or esteem. Many remained his close advisers on delicate questions, in spite of the fact that their contributions to his later success were no doubt small, even when measured by their proportion to his personal friends and adherents elsewhere. He did not go to Washington, the first time, with many new intimate friendships or associations as the result of his two years' active work in the politics of the State of New York. Perhaps it would be safe to say that there were not more than two of these which grew into anything resembling intimacy: Daniel S. Lamont and Dr. Joseph D. Bryant, in relation to whom there was neither variableness nor the shadow of turning.

III

Once in Washington, the circle began to enlarge with rapidity. With one exception, every member of Mr. Cleveland's Cabinet was a stranger, but before a year had passed each was more than an associate: all, without exception, had become his close friends, and the intimacy, then cemented, was never broken in a single instance. It may not be amiss to say, just at this point, that this was perhaps more true in the case of Mr. Cleveland than in that of almost any other man in our

Presidential history. Every Cabinet official—about twenty in number—associated with him in two administrations remained not only his stanch supporter but his personal intimate.

He spoke of them always in terms of the warmest affection, nor was there one with whose varying fortunes he did not keep himself in close touch. Whenever they were mentioned, new interest was added to the conversation, and he would listen far more intently than if praise were lavished upon himself. If a question were raised about the attitude of one of these Cabinet friends, he would always reassure the doubter and emphasize the fact that there was no doubt in his mind as to where Bayard or Fairchild, Whitney or Endicott, Lamar or Vilas, Dickinson or Colman, would be found if matters came to a crisis. Late in 1891, when William C. Whitney's attitude in respect to the third nomination was not publicly known, one of his former Cabinet associates said to Mr. Cleveland, with some impatience: "I think Whitney ought not to hold back," only to get the reply: "Now, do not you give yourself any worry about Whitney. I have not seen him lately, nor has he sent me any word about his position, but I can tell you that he will never fail us when the need comes." The sequel is well known. It was always this way. When he gave his personal confidence he was never betrayed either by intention or oversight.

Out of his public life during both administrations, there grew up many other interesting personal relations. Men who held the rank of assistants, or heads of bureaus or divisions, made their impressions upon him and were afforded many opportunities to emphasize them. He not only trusted them because they had a given official responsibility, but he sought their help as friends.

He asked their advice, and in innumerable instances acted upon it, though never with them or any others, whatever the rank of the man, without satisfying himself that the counsel was sound. He took nothing for granted, so that every man who had reached a given conclusion and found support from the President was confirmed in his opinion and made even more careful next time. So far as I could ever observe or learn from him, he had no serious differences with any of his subordinates, although there were many whose weakness he saw more clearly than anybody else. He had a way either of doing these men's work himself, or of getting it done by his assistants without giving them any trouble. His patience never failed him, but, naturally, his relations with this type of official were perfunctory, not intimate.

IV

He formed some close friendships among Senators and Representatives of his own party, his famous objurgation of Congress—when asked whether he had any further communication to make—to the contrary notwithstanding. He was fair to every element, always refusing to delegate power to any kitchen cabinet, or to permit a small, exclusive inner circle to be formed around him, so that he probably had more real friends in both Houses than the average President. In the first administration it was not his habit to dictate legislation, in spite of the fact that the time came when he had to do so, in one case, in order to preserve the national credit in a period of crisis. In all that he did, he was so open and frank that even when legislators disliked his policy they still admired the man.

His public friendships had not the smallest relation to official favors. Nothing repelled him more from men than to find them insatiate in their demands for office for their followers. This was best shown, perhaps, in the case of Samuel J. Randall, with whom he had so many points in common. But the desire for patronage on the part of the ex-Speaker of the House was so strong that he could not restrain himself, and so the President became indifferent rather than friendly. So it was all along down the line.

During the same time, he formed friendly relations with many other men, little known to the public, either then or now. I have heard of elaborate correspondence with business men about public conditions especially in the larger lines of commerce as well as politics—men from whom he commanded information otherwise unobtainable. He especially invited suggestions from these correspondents and was enabled, by their assistance, to get a far more intimate idea of conditions than would have been possible in any other way. He did not often see these men, and he seldom spoke of them or their relations to him. Their letters, however, contributed to his knowledge—no doubt much to the surprise of Cabinet officers and others dealing with him officially. These men were seldom known as correspondents, still less as intimates or advisers. They were simply drawn into these relations because, in every case, the association was congenial and the men were mutually useful to each other. There was no condescension or patronage on the one side, and no self-seeking on the other. The last-named type was to him impossible as a friend, so that, perhaps, never in our history have there been fewer persons who could pose as the friend of a

President or an ex-President. He could not make himself congenial to anybody of this type. He did hate a flunky above all other things.

V

When he came to New York to live—with more leisure on his hands than had been his fortune thitherto—the foundations for his future friendships were pretty well laid, and he had only to build upon them with added material of the same kind. He did not seek out the great lawyers, or the prominent financiers, or the men at the head of dominating railroads or other business enterprises. He became close to some of the members of his law firm, and was drawn, in like manner, to some literary men.

He was particularly shy of newspaper men, whether in their collective or individual capacity. He had grown to have a strong aversion to them as a class, although not, as was generally thought, to individuals among them. From the beginning of his public career he was unsympathetic with most of the owners of metropolitan newspapers—the controlling spirits. As he had had some disagreeable experiences with them, he reached the conclusion that, in the main, they sought to maintain friendly relations in the hope of getting inside information, or interviews, or news. In like manner, he felt no attraction for the editors of these papers. Two or three of them pushed themselves upon him with considerable persistence, and, from this, tried to make their public believe that they were close to him. In all my experience with him, I never heard or knew of him asking

advice from the proprietor or editor of a New York paper. In one or two cases when he had been drawn into giving an interview with the representative of one paper upon any given question, he would advise with me as to the best means of keeping the news from becoming exclusive, or for arranging that it should be distributed through the press associations or other mediums.

For a time I pressed him upon the policy of advising with the owner and editor of a certain paper, who was always trying to reach him in New York, as he had done in Albany and Washington, through correspondents and other representatives, none of whom could command even the smallest confidence. He would say: "No, it is no use to talk to me about ——. I know him and his motives better than you do. He only wants to see me in the hope of getting some exclusive information. Everything will go on agreeably for a time, but when he finds that some other paper has obtained political or personal news about me or my policies from some other source, all the inherent meanness of his nature will come out, and he will do with me as he has with every one else: betray my confidence and turn upon me." Once when the correspondent of the same paper had approached me during Mr. Cleveland's absence at his country place, and I had again pressed my point of view because I believed it good politics, he peremptorily declined to be convinced or to comply, and wrote: "Besides, I know that —— will not print anything about me that will be any satisfaction to myself or my friends, no matter how much Mr. —— may attempt to have it so. You will see that I am right in this." And he was.

VI

To friendships of the kind I have described, in the main with the men who had come into intimate relations with him in politics or profession, he gave the remainder of his life, to which must be added those growing out of his Princeton residence and activities.

He had an unusual capacity for friendship and a need for it. Resourceful in general, there were times when he had special need for association with congenial men; but it must be with persons serious-minded as well as congenial. He had little small talk, and although few men could be more gracious to children, he must have been the despair of the light, trifling woman, especially of that type whose great desire in life is to boast of being on speaking terms with some celebrity. With sensible, well-balanced women, and especially those of a religious nature, he was most happy and sympathetic. He did not talk shop or politics, but was full of wise observations on questions about which nobody would credit him with either interest or knowledge.

He took a keen interest in all struggling persons, and nothing brought him more pleasure than to learn of the success of ambitious, industrious young men or women, or more pain than to hear stories of failure and discouragement. The death of a friend, or a friend's wife or intimate, was plainly more painful to him than to almost any person I have known. He had a horror of death, especially when it came to those in the full strength of years, or in the midst of hitherto unrequited struggle, although his feeling about it for himself was of the grim, determined character that he showed in his daily struggles. He liked life, but he wanted it in order to complete with credit whatever work might be in him.

VII

If I could sum up his character, I should say that, although he had this capacity for friendship, he was not greatly attracted by the mere passing or idle acquaintance. He was genial because he was kindly, and free and thoughtful in the gift of himself, though exacting little from others; he gave his confidence slowly and to few, but with unusual freedom, and he seldom withdrew it; and used much discretion as to the kind or order of information confided to different persons within his circle. To some—those who knew him best and themselves had an all-round knowledge—he would give after their kind. With the companions of his sports, who were almost uniformly drawn from the like-minded among the various circles already classified, he would manifest a jollity, a lightness of touch wholly in keeping with the occasion.

To some purely social acquaintance, politics—except in its most obvious facts and inferences—would be taboo, while to other friends of a different type little else would enter into account—seldom in its mechanical features, but in the higher ultimate aims and ends. As few men had had larger opportunities to know a variety of characters: so, perhaps, none ever took more advantage of them in order that he might make his friendships pleasing and profitable to others as well as agreeable to himself.

VIII

It has never been fully appreciated how closely Mr. Cleveland was drawn, in personal friendship, to those with whom his association was purely political. Evi-

dence of this was furnished by many letters which came to my attention when the accumulations of the Executive Mansion were examined in the early spring of 1892. Generally speaking, Mr. Cleveland read these letters with care and then ruthlessly destroyed them. But when he came to two of them, he handed them to me with the message:

> The time may come when those will be useful in giving the world some idea of the relations which my official advisers bore to me, in spite of the fact that nearly every one of them was an entire stranger when we came together.

These letters have been preserved and are herewith appended. The first is a birthday greeting from the late William C. Whitney, Secretary of the Navy, written in the year before the end of their official relations. It is as follows, and, coming from a man of a type little given to compliments, will be of interest:

March 18, 1888.
1731 I Street.

Dear Mr. President:

I wish I had something to send you besides my good wishes, but, in the absence of Madame, who is thoughtful, I have n't. I know you don't want anything, but I should like to mark the day. I wish you many more anniversaries like this, when you are able to look back upon another year of successful work in the midst of most trying responsibilities.

I have never known greater patience than you have, nor greater courtesy in your bearing to those who struggle along with you, and I hope you may by and by have your reward in the opportunity to think of yourself and your comfort, and

you will then take pleasure in the reflection that you never laid down the banner when it was given you to carry.

My best wishes for a successful and a happy future.

Yours most sincerely,

W. C. WHITNEY.

To

The President.

THE second was written by William F. Vilas, a man of wholly different type, full of the fervor of the orator as well as that of the friend, and was in the nature of a farewell at the close of the first term in the Presidency:

Department of the Interior,
Washington, March 1, 1889.

My dear Mr. President:

With this will go to-morrow my letter of resignation, just written this evening, of the post I hold in your official family, now about breaking up. I can, in admissible propriety I suppose, place by it on official record but a brief, though I wish it a clear, testimony of my esteem and devotion. But I will not deny my desire to write more to you upon the occasion of it; I mean no bubbling of emotion, but thoughts long and often meditated.

I was a stranger to you when you were first named to the American people as the candidate of our party to be their President; and was little less so when, by your generous confidence, I was placed in near official relationship to your person and duties. Profoundly believing that the safety of our political institutions demanded dislocation of the grasp which the long unchecked dominion of our political enemy had secured upon our government, and having long shared, though in obscure station, the vain struggle of Democracy for relief, it was but natural that my thought was fixed almost wholly upon the chances and the advantage of that success, rather than upon the person through whom it was to be and was

achieved, and that I saw in you the promising candidate more than the noble man.

I have long since perceived how differently the wisdom of Providence ordered the affairs of this people, and how weakly I misconceived. A close witness now for four years, I have learned your vast powers of mind, your strength of character, your high principles, your patriotic devotion, your constancy and virtue. The qualities of a splendid manhood require the opportunities afforded by disaster, as well as stormy trials, for their full illustration. I did not, I feel sure, need these later hours for my just understanding of it, but I believe that, with the people of this country, they have been helpful to exalt your character; and that, although defeat has been our bitter portion, your carriage in this scene has already begun to work, and will continue to excite, a juster perception on their part of your title to their admiration and esteem.

I abate no jot of faith in our countrymen. If false report for a time mislead them, they still are generous and honest in spirit, and when the truth comes to them their justice will not want a generous expression in action. May heaven give you continued life and vigor, and you shall not await the page of History for a triumphant recognition of the untiring labors, the faithful zeal, the vast blessing in accomplishment and in example and lesson by which you have distinguished your administration of their exalted trust.

But I cannot subjoin what I wish for myself to say without some emotion, nor risk much. You have so generously offset my sincerity of purpose against my shortcomings in performance, so kindly considered me in all defects and in all my life here, and made your friendship so greatly a source of joy as well as pride, that in the affectionate attachment which warmly glows amidst respect and admiration lies all the pain I have experienced upon any personal grounds in contemplating the change before us. I treasure the pain with the affection. May the day come when the one shall disappear in the joy of the other.

In hope, esteem, and friendship,

Faithfully yours,

William F. Vilas.

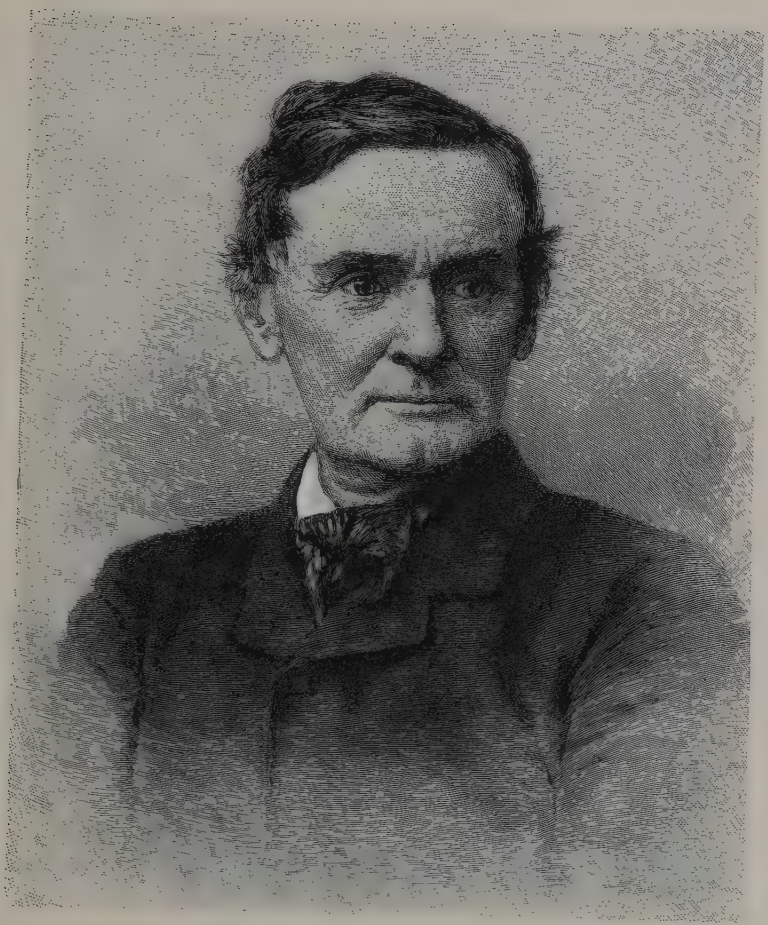
IX

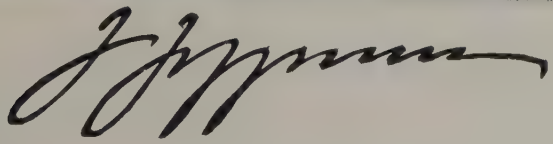
Religion. Mr. Cleveland seldom talked about his religious convictions. This was due, in some degree, to the reticence of the gentleman on this lofty and personal question, but, in the main, to the absolute, undoubting character of his faith. In all my acquaintance, whether with men or women, powerful or humble, educated or illiterate, I have never found a person in whom this quality was more strongly developed. He so resented any lightness of treatment of religious opinions and problems by anybody that no one, whatever the relations might be, would presume to repeat views which questioned or belittled the Christian faith of any person.

He was the ingrained Presbyterian, of the old-fashioned type. I do not believe that the Higher Criticism, so called, had even the smallest influence upon his thought or opinion. The later knowledge, so far as he knew it or cared for its existence, only strengthened him in his view. I have often heard him say:

> The Bible is good enough for me: just the old book under which I was brought up. I do not want notes, or criticisms, or explanations about authorship or origin, or even cross-references. I do not need or understand them, and they confuse me.

So far as I could discover—in those years when the springs of his life were laid open to me, and his opinions upon the matters in which he was interested would come out at one time or another—he had never questioned the truth or soundness of those fundamental teachings which had come down to him through generations of orthodox clergymen, on the one side, and of pious





women on the other. Their faith, once delivered to the saints, was his faith, their deductions were his, the duties that had been theirs were his duties, the conscience which, in them, had been developed even to exaggeration, was his conscience, and the higher influences that had entered into their lives were those which moved him and made him what he was in himself as well as in his relations to the world

X

His religion was not one which took much account of profession or of mere outward form, but supplied its needs and renewed itself from its own inherent sources. He was tolerant, in the highest degree, of those varieties of opinion which enter into the outward work of the Christian faith. Perhaps no man in our history was ever more strongly impressed with the feeling that our institutions were founded upon our religion, in all their essential features. He was once much interested in a lecture or address delivered by Justice Brewer and in the arguments adduced by him to show that this is a Christian nation. The tone of his opinion then found expression in these general terms:

> It would not be in existence and it could not hope to live if it were not Christian in every fibre. That is what has made it and what will save it in all its perils. Whenever we have departed from this conception of life and thought, nationality has suffered, character has declined, and difficulties have increased. While slavery remained we could not hope fully to work out Christian ideals, and whenever we overlook the fact that "righteousness exalteth a nation," we must pay the penalty. I welcome peoples

from every land, and of every form of faith, but I firmly believe that, as we have done in our political ideas, we shall assimilate them to our religion, by demonstrating—as Christianity at its best estate has always done—its superiority and its power. In its essentials, we stand by our faith, exercise patience, show charity, tolerate all beliefs, but always with the conviction that our own will so conquer in the end as to extend its influence, more and more, over men in every part of the world.

XI

He was one of the strongest advocates I have ever known of the missionary cause. His favorite sister and her husband returned from a long absence in the missionary field in India soon after he himself had become a great public character. From early training and association, as well as from the tendency that was bred in the bone, he had acquired an almost intuitive knowledge of what foreign missions had done. Personal association had enlarged both the opportunity for obtaining accurate knowledge and his interest, and had confirmed his opinion that right, duty, policy, nay, necessity and fate, were behind this obedience to the command, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature."

Once or twice during his career he subjected himself to severe criticism by public utterances emphasizing the importance of recognizing our religious duty towards the scattered communities in the remote parts of our own country. He did not resent intelligent comment or criticism upon this or any other question; but he could

not understand how clergymen or well-meaning persons could misrepresent his attitude towards missions, or the spread of the Christian faith, whether in the foreign or the domestic field, and tax him with want of knowledge or absence of interest. When this charge was made by men who were obviously moved by political or sectarian prejudice, he regretted and overlooked it; but when it came from men who not only ought to know better but did know better, his contempt was mingled with pity for the sordid motives from which such sentiments proceeded.

I have never known a man with so low an opinion of sensational preaching, and perhaps the political, or, as he ought rather to be termed, the partizan, preacher was his pet aversion. No matter what his topic, or who might be his favorite or victim, he was, to Mr. Cleveland, next to a moral outlaw.

Nor was this attitude the result of personal feeling or resentment. As it was the outcome of an attachment to principle as strong as his belief in his religion or his political convictions it was fundamental. If every preacher in the country had taken occasion, upon every Sunday in the year, to preach about Mr. Cleveland with the strongest commendation, it would not have changed his opinion that the impulse was unchristian and the effect pernicious.

CHAPTER XXVI

SOME CONTRIBUTED ESTIMATES

I

THERE were few men in whose judgment Mr. Cleveland had greater confidence, or to whom he was more communicative upon those large issues of politics and administration which had been confided to him, than Mr. John P. Irish of California. In reply to my request for some opinions by or about Mr. Cleveland, and for his own impressions, Mr. Irish sent me the following interesting letter, under date of July 22, 1908:

I

I WAS with Mr. Cleveland when the excitement broke like a storm over the country, because of his order for the return of the battle-flags taken during the Civil War. I asked him if he recalled Senator Sumner's speech opposing the placing in the Capitol of any permanent memorial or work of art to exult over the vanquishment of the South. He asked me to find the record and have it published. I did so, including the resolution of the Massachusetts Legislature bitterly censuring Sumner for the speech, and the subsequent expunging of that resolution while the Senator was dying.

The next morning the papers were full of denunciation of the President and published a statement by General Lucius Fairchild of Wisconsin, to the effect that he had received the first notice of the President's battle-

flag order from his old comrade in arms, General Drum, Adjutant-General of the United States Army. When I called Mr. Cleveland's attention to this, he drew from his desk an official letter from Drum, written some months before, recommending that the President issue the order for the return of the captured flags, as an act of amity towards the South. I was astonished by this revelation, and said, "Of course you will publish Drum's letter." The President simply said, "No. The order was mine. I do not wish to divide the responsibility. I have examined the matter and find that I had no legal authority to issue such an order, and I have recalled it."

Then, with a look of pain, he said:

> See how I am misjudged. It is charged in the press that I had no sympathy with the Union armies. When the war came there were three men of fighting age in our family. We were poor, and mother and sisters depended on us for support. As two of us had enlisted in the Union army, it was necessary for the third to stay at home for the support of the family. I abided by my duty to the helpless women. Later on, I was drafted and borrowed a thousand dollars to hire a substitute, and it took years of hard work to repay that loan. So, of three men of fighting age, our family furnished three recruits for the Union army, and I would have been a monster if I had no sympathy with that cause for which my brothers were fighting and for which I had sacrificed.

The picture was Homeric, and the lesson it taught should be remembered as a check upon the reckless abuse of our public men.

II

His judgment of men and insight into character exceeded that of any man I have known in public life. I saw him meet a party of politicians from a large Western city, who had called to press an appointment they wanted made. They were the bosses of their city, well groomed, persuasive and plausible, and presented their case with exquisite address and art. Mr. Cleveland listened with politeness and patience, but I saw a singular aversion in his aspect.

When they finished he declined to make the appointment. Within a year from that time every politician in that persuasive group was either in jail or a fugitive from justice, for crimes committed in the municipal administration of their city, and the man for whom they sought appointment was discredited.

III

Mr. Tilden told me, in January, 1885, that men were wondering at Mr. Cleveland's rapid rise in public life, and said, "It is because he has the genius of leadership and the spirit of righteousness." When I asked him for his definition of a leader, he replied: "A leader is a man who always knows what to do next and is never caught in a corner with no resources beyond."

Continuing, Mr. Tilden said: "Since the Civil War the Democratic party has required that continuity of policy that can be found only under a leader with a physical future. Leadership came to Mr. Seymour and to me in our old age, when our physical future was abridged. If the party now follow Mr. Cleveland where he leads, its return to power will have continuity and permanency."

From a stereograph, copyright, 1907 by Underwood & Underwood

WESTLAND, THE CLEVELAND HOME AT PRINCETON

The discussion of Mr. Cleveland's selection of members of his Cabinet reminds me of a conversation with Mr. Tilden, which discloses on his part a mistake in judgment. After the election of 1876, when it was known that he had been fairly chosen as President and had received a popular majority, Mr. Tilden considered the future with great gravity. He said the trouble would be found in the lack of men in the Democratic party fit for Cabinet positions by reason of want of training amongst our public men in executive duties. He said the leaders of the party had had legislative experience only, and that we were entirely safe in having Congressional leadership, and our difficulties would appear through having no men trained in executive functions.

When Mr. Cleveland was elected he called into his Cabinet men of the greatest experience and highest qualities, who proved to be admirably qualified for executive duties, and our Congressional leadership [aside from William L. Wilson] in both of his terms proved to be such a miserable failure that it became responsible for the permanent wrecking of the party. It turned out that our legislative leaders were so fixed in the habit of opposition that they used it against their own administration and robbed it of its natural and legitimate leadership. It was this that left Mr. Cleveland and his Cabinet standing alone: on one side meeting the natural and legitimate antagonism of the Republican party, and on the other faced by the bitter, foolish, and almost criminal opposition of Democratic leaders in Congress.

IV

This painful situation, however, was the means of bringing into action the highest qualities in Mr. Cleve-

land's character, than which there have been no higher nor greater in the history of our public men. To this he owes his great and unassailable position in the world's history. The American President who bravely meets the great crises of peace, involving the preservation of the public credit and going direct to the material interest of every citizen, high and low, executes a more difficult duty than is put upon any President in time of war. In war, the patriotic sentiments and unselfish impulses of the people are in high activity, and they are ready without question to back up every position taken by the President, and to make every sacrifice he demands of them, and his task is made easy compared with that which was put upon Mr. Cleveland.

In his case, it was easy to persuade the people that they were injured in their fortunes by the policy which was their sole defense against wide-spread ruin. It was a policy which maintained the sacredness of contracts and stood for honesty in every financial transaction, great and small. That policy, indorsed by the election of 1896, after the greatest campaign of education known in our politics, carried on by our Gold Democracy and the Republican allies, was the foundation of the prosperity which followed, and must be the foundation of any real and general prosperity which the country is to know in the future.

II

Another man who came into close relations with Mr. Cleveland during the whole of his larger political career, both in the Presidency and out, was the Hon. William

U. Hensel, formerly Attorney-General of Pennsylvania. When I told him that I was writing my recollections of the ex-President, he offered to send me some of his experiences and observations. Among them were the folllowing:

I

Among my earliest personal recollections of Mr. Cleveland is an occasion when I saw him, during the first of his Presidential campaigns, in Brooklyn, at a "barbecue." Of course a barbecue in Brooklyn is an absurdity. But the Democrats over there had heard much and read more of barbecues, and they must make an ox roast. I certainly could not now fix the day when it was held, nor find the place; but I very distinctly remember that many thousands of voters hungered much to get a bite of roast ox, and much more to get a sight of the candidate.

He and a score of others, including myself, found escape from the tremendous popular pressure in the second story of a frame building on some sort of an exhibition ground. When he showed himself to the multitude at an upper window, the individuals who composed the eager throng packed closer together until there was scarcely anything to be seen except their heads and faces. I do not think that he had ever seen so many people assembled—certainly never so dense a crowd. It affected him very much, and in an almost broken voice he said: "I never before realized what was expressed in the phrase 'a sea of faces'—look at it; as beautiful and yet as terrible as the waves of the ocean."

II

After Mr. Cleveland had been duly elected President by the Electoral College and had resigned the office of

Governor of New York and retired from the Executive Mansion at Albany to a modest residence on a side street, I was his informal guest at several meetings with the late Edgar K. Apgar, who had his confidence in a large degree. Apgar—with whom I was on terms of close intimacy and had campaigned frequently—once told me that when the Flower-Slocum canvass for Governor was fairly "on" in 1882, and the late Secretary Manning was much perplexed over it, he (Apgar) began to look over the State for a compromise candidate. His extensive reading of the State newspapers led him to Mayor Cleveland of Buffalo. He had been much impressed by Mr. Cleveland's message vetoing a municipal appropriation for the celebration by the G. A. R. of Decoration Day, because, in the expressive language of the late Judge Black, it was "ag'in' the law."

When his name was first mentioned by Apgar as an "available" candidate, Mr. Manning, then Chairman of the Democratic State Committee, was so absolutely unacquainted with him that he asked, "Who 's Grover Cleveland?" But at Mr. Manning's request Apgar investigated the matter quietly and "sized him up," so that in less than a year Mr. Cleveland was Governor of New York, and within three years Mr. Manning was Secretary of the Treasury in his Cabinet at Washington.

III

Those nights in the rooms of the President-elect with Apgar were "noctes ambrosianæ." I never afterwards, in more than twenty years' acquaintance, saw him with better opportunities to study and know the man Cleveland. I recall the great quantities of things, mostly trash, sent to him—and of course to every President-elect—by political and personal admirers many of them

most barefaced solicitors of official favor. For instance, "Unknown"—who no doubt intended later to disclose himself—sent a brass-hooped ten-gallon cask of rum. There was a great majolica china Democratic rooster from Kansas; a live alligator from Florida; a stuffed wolf from Dakota; and codfish from Massachusetts.

There was the picture of a Western youth with his best girl leaning lovingly on his shoulder, accompanied by a letter declaring that, to complete their happiness and assure their marriage, they only needed the certainty of appointment to a designated fourth-class postmastership. I remember very distinctly Mr. Cleveland's expression of sympathy for the poor girl whose life's hopes hung on that rather nincompoopish lover.

The one gift to which he attached significance was from an illiterate, but apparently independent, negro in Atlanta, who sent him "with Gawd's blessin' " a rabbit's left hind foot, with the assurance that the donor had voted for him and had no favors to ask.

IV

Early in his administration he was influenced to appoint to a prominent Federal office a man who in his youth had committed a felonious indiscretion and fled from an indictment which, during twenty-five years of later upright life, he foolishly neglected to have disposed of. After his name was sent to the Senate, but before confirmation, the old scandal was revived, and Cleveland withdrew the nomination, with some indignation at those who had procured it. I joined them in trying to get him to view the circumstances more leniently, but he had in mind some imposition practised upon him in the West, and he was obdurate.

Subsequently the object, first of his official favor and

later of his wrath, had the indictment *nolle-prossed,* but the President would not hear of his reappointment, and he had to submit to a local vindication by triumphant election to an important county office. I mention the incident mainly to illustrate Mr. Cleveland's remarkable memory. A few years ago, on a visit to him, at Princeton, something suggested this incident of 1885, when he related it in minutest detail and recalled every circumstance of the offense charged against my friend and his nominee.

V

DURING his first term he explained to me on one occasion with much detail his views on the executive prerogative of his pardoning power, and how, when he became Governor of New York, he had broken up the traditional practice of the executive permitting "pardon clerks" to brief the papers submitted and to suggest what should be the disposition of the applications. "If there is anything," he said, "that I understand and that I examine, consider, and determine wholly myself, it is the subject of pardons." Years later, during his second term, I was much interested in the pardon of a Federal convict. It was refused. I found the papers docketed, briefed, negatively recommended, and "O. K.'d" by the President.

I went directly to him, and appealed to him on the peculiar circumstances of the case. The only and most affectionate son of an aged mother had gone wrong. He was sentenced to seven years in the penitentiary. She never knew of his guilt or his disgrace, but was under the impression that he was gone on a long journey. After three years' absence she became apprehensive she would soon die and begged piteously "to see Tom." I told the President all this, and more, without

effecting much. Finally I appealed to his earlier self-confidence, that he understood pardon cases better than the clerks in the Attorney-General's office, and he admitted that he had refused my application somewhat perfunctorily and invited me to breakfast with him the next day. After we had ended he rather abruptly said: "That fellow's sentence will be half served in August. If you can keep his mother alive until then, I 'll cut his term in two." I was glad to accept the conditions. Tom came out of the penitentiary in August, and his mother lingered on into September, never suspecting that her son had been a convict. He is long since dead, but his saint was always St. Grover.

III

Colonel Hilary A. Herbert, Secretary of the Navy in the second Cabinet and also close to Mr. Cleveland during the first administration when the naval policy was fixed, has sent me the following recollections and impressions:

I

When Mr. Cleveland became President in 1885 just twenty years had elapsed since the close of the Civil War. The battle between the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor* at Hampton Roads had revolutionized naval warfare. European nations turned at once to new all-steel vessels. Improvements in ships and guns were now being made year after year. Our own navy, that had accomplished so much in its battles for the Union, was practically obsolete. Its wooden vessels were rotting. Even its iron monitors were outclassed and of obsolete

types. Under President Arthur, Mr. Chandler, as Secretary of the Navy, had laid down two steel cruisers and a gunboat now well on toward completion. Two other vessels had been authorized by Congress just before Mr. Arthur went out—altogether, a small but creditable beginning of a modern navy for the United States.

Mr. Cleveland and his Secretary, Mr. Whitney, intended to lay broadly the foundations of this new navy, not only building ships but providing an armor plant and gun plants, so that the United States might in due time take its proper place among the naval powers of the world. All this was accomplished, but at the outset difficulties were presented.

First, the Democratic party, lately come into consequence in the House of Representatives, had taken a firm stand for economy in all expenditures. It was an opposition party, and had fought vigorously against large appropriations for the navy, especially those called for by Secretary Robeson, for refitting and rebuilding of old ships. This anti-naval bias, really a new feature in Democratic politics, had to be regarded.

It was my lot to be made Chairman of the House Committee on Naval Affairs, when the Cleveland idea of rebuilding the navy was to be inaugurated, and to me the whole question was new. Upon my appointment a newspaper "down in Maine" commented, not unfavorably in other respects, but called attention to the fact that I had never previously served on the committee of which I was now made the head, adding, with pardonable exaggeration, that "the new Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs did not know the difference between a man-of-war and a wash-tub"! My task with my own party was not an easy one, and it soon became apparent that to "go sure" it was necessary to "go slow."

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GROVER CLEVELAND AND HIS FAMILY AT THEIR HOME IN PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Esther Francis Mrs. Cleveland Marion Richard Mr. Cleveland

The first bill reported from the committee carried eleven ships, big and little. The practice then was to pass a rule fixing a day to consider an important bill and limiting the time for discussion. When such a rule for the bill was moved, not only did leading Democrats from the West object to the day suggested, as interfering with their bills, etc., etc., but it became quite evident that the Republicans, though previously counting themselves as friends of the navy, were very reluctant to see Democrats figuring as its champions. Mr. Reed, their leader, objected to taking up the rule for consideration, on the ground that time enough was not allowed in the rule for debate on "so important a bill." So many objections were made from time to time that the committee eventually withdrew the original bill, and re-reported it, leaving off two of the proposed ships. For this bill, which carried nine vessels, big and little, and contained other important provisions, after many captious objections from different quarters, a day was finally fixed, and on July 24, 1886, it came to a vote. Mr. Reed, Mr. Boutelle, and the body of the Republicans voted against it, ostensibly because it did not carry all the vessels contained in the original bill, to the rule for considering which Mr. Reed had so strenuously objected. The Democrats mustered strength enough to pass it, but the tribulations thus encountered showed that some easier method of getting up bills for increasing the navy was desirable.

At the next session, after a consultation between the writer and the Speaker, Mr. Carlisle agreed to appoint, to preside over the Committee of the Whole when the Naval Appropriation Bill should come up, some Democrat, if one could be found, who agreed with the writer that a provision for new vessels would be in order on

the bill. As Mr. McCreary of Kentucky concurred in this view, he was therefore appointed Chairman of the Committee of the Whole and overruled the point of order, though it was vigorously pressed; new ships were put into the appropriation bill, and so from that day to this the new navy has had plain sailing in the House of Representatives. The point of order has occasionally been made, but the precedent of 1886 has always been followed.

The Cleveland administration was not in undue haste; its policy was a steady growth of the new navy on solid foundations, and as all partizan debate was carefully avoided, opposition soon practically ceased on both sides of the chamber. Appropriation bills containing new vessels, docks, etc., were sometimes passed without debate, after the briefest possible explanation from the chairman. During these four years Mr. Whitney, as Secretary of the Navy under Mr. Cleveland, not only laid down new vessels, but built docks, established a great gun plant at Washington, domesticated the manufacture of armor at Bethlehem, and thus made easy the pathway of his successor.

II

Mr. Cleveland as a candidate for the Presidency in 1892 was the most striking civilian figure that had occupied that position since the days of Abraham Lincoln. He attracted notably the attention of students of history, and, though not college-bred, college professors and young men fresh from their studies had turned to him in a wonderful way. After all the political vagaries of the preceding twenty-five years, here was a man about whom nobody could make any mistake. He had been brave enough to send to Congress his cele-

brated tariff message of 1887, though he saw that it might, as it undoubtedly did, defeat him for reëlection. So, in 1892, his renewed declaration, shortly before the convention, for the gold standard, might defeat his renomination; but he gave it forth against the protest of friends. All knew as well then as now that a choice of Mr. Cleveland would be a declaration for (1) old-fashioned Democratic ideas of the Constitution; (2) economies; (3) merit as the ultimate test for appointment to office; (4) tariff reform; (5) the gold standard.

His party, knowing that he stood for all these things, nominated him; and because the people also stood firmly for them, they elected him. If the Democrats had supported him faithfully, representing as he did the majority sentiment, there can be no doubt that his party would have continued in power. But Democrats in Congress failed to hold up his hands. Many of them, indeed, seemed to feel really disappointed and aggrieved because their President did not go back on his pledges, and, so feeling, they occupied their time in manœuvering for political position in a campaign that was to come off in 1896.

When Congress assembled in 1893, unfortunately for Mr. Cleveland, the country was in the throes of a panic. The money question was paramount, and though Mr. Cleveland's views on the subject were well known, many of his followers were unwilling to look upon his election as a settlement of the matter. Both Democrats and Republicans had for years been coquetting with the free silver craze. Both parties were divided on it; the platforms and the acts of both had been equivocal, all catering to the new fad, which was that the United States, unaided by other nations, could hold up all the silver

in the world on a par with gold. Already, increasing silver was chasing gold out of our Treasury, the panic having met Mr. Cleveland at the very threshold of his new term. Congress refused to give the legislative relief he asked for, and the President was therefore forced to rely entirely upon his own resources. He restocked the Treasury with gold, by his sale of bond issues one after another; by this means alone he restored confidence, and the panic was fast fading away as the Presidential election of 1896 approached.

Inevitably in that campaign the question of standards was to be settled. Which of the two great parties was to declare for gold? Logically, it should have been the Democrats. Their leader had been the champion of the gold standard. He had been elected as such, and had "made good" in the face of that terrible financial crisis. But this was not to be. The Democracy in the platform of 1896 repudiated their captain, thus leaving the field free to the Republicans, who now for the first time adopted a gold platform and thereupon came into power, and therefore enjoyed the prestige of that wave of prosperity which, prior to the election, had already set in and was certain to continue, no matter whether Wilson or Dingley tariff should prevail.

III

The new and fateful political alignments of 1896 are well illustrated by the following ludicrous incident which a trustworthy friend tells me he had directly from Senator Hanna:

Mr. Hanna, it is now well known, had in 1896, long before the convention, made certain Mr. McKinley's nomination. The platform on which he was to be placed was of course to pronounce for a high tariff, for which Mr. McKinley stood, no matter what it might say about

money. On that question the antecedents of Mr. Hanna's candidate were for free silver. This is the story of Mr. Hanna, who greatly enjoyed the humor of the situation. What he had been especially anxious about was McKinley and a high tariff. As to the plank on coinage he had no definite plan. He simply agreed at the convention to a straight-out declaration for the gold standard, and then consented to act as Chairman of the National Committee. As such his first task was to get his party everywhere into line with the new platform.

Among others, Mr. B——, a Republican candidate for Congress in a Southern mountain district, was making free silver speeches. Mr. Hanna wrote to him, calling attention to the platform and telling him he must "line up" with the party. Mr. B——, who is a man of character, made a characteristic reply. It was that he did not claim to know much about the coinage question, or to be an orator; that before he began his canvass, and when in search of information, he had happened on a certain speech made by a certain Mr. McKinley to the Farmers' Alliance in Ohio. This struck him as the finest thing he had ever seen, so he had memorized the arguments and had been making them to his people. But, he said, as a good Republican he recognized the right of the party to dictate, and would now set out on the new tack. And then he added, "If William changes again, please let me know by telegraph."

IV

During the latter part of Mr. Cleveland's administration the relations between our Government and that of Spain were critical. There was among our people a wide-spread sympathy with the Cuban insurgents, reflected in unmistakable terms by many speeches in the

halls of Congress and manifested also in frequent filibustering expeditions. Mr. Cleveland was intent upon maintaining our neutrality, and consequently we studiously kept our war-ships away from Cuban ports, which they visited freely in ordinary times.

During the winter of 1896–97 (possibly earlier), General Fitzhugh Lee, our Consul-General, visited Washington and made a strong appeal to me to send to and keep in the harbor of Havana a war-ship to aid him in protecting American citizens, as well as to furnish a refuge for them and our officials in case of an outbreak. I refused on the ground that it was not customary or practicable to afford protection to American citizens in the ports of a power of the rank of Spain by a single war-ship, and that, under the circumstances, the sending of a single ship, and still more of a fleet, would be taken by the insurgents as an expression of sympathy and regarded by Spain as a threat, so I refused General Lee's request. He took an appeal to Mr. Cleveland, who sustained me.

When Mr. McKinley came in, General Lee no doubt renewed the request. Certain it is that our State Department induced the Spanish Minister—who could not refuse anything we pressed upon him—to agree that a Spanish ship should visit us and we should send one of ours to Cuba, thus openly and ostentatiously ignoring the insurrection and establishing the ante-insurrection peaceful relations. The carefully devised farce ended with the escape of the *Viscaya*, which was diligently guarded, from any open insult in New York Harbor, and the awful tragedy of the *Maine* in Havana waters. This, no matter whether the explosion was the result of accident or design, was the immediate or proximate cause of the war and the taking over of the Philippines.

IV

REFERENCE has been made in the body of this book to Mr. Cleveland's admiration for George B. Cortelyou, whose remarkable gifts first found opportunity for development while assistant private secretary to the President. It is with pleasure that I am able to add a short estimate of the career of his chief by the man who has since filled, with such high distinction, three Cabinet offices during the service of a single President. Mr. Cortelyou's contribution is as follows:

I

MR. CLEVELAND'S career was remarkable in many ways, but in none more than in the evidence it gave of his capacity for growth in the several public positions he filled so creditably and with so much benefit to the country. Of course the Presidency offered the greatest field for this development, and it was here that it reached its fruition. Many of his predecessors in that high office had in similar manner risen from humble station and had met emergencies as he had to meet them; and while for that reason it may be said he was not exceptional when compared with the long line of illustrious occupants of the place, still his case presents so many points of difference from theirs that my general contention as applied to him holds true.

As Mayor of Buffalo he displayed qualities which surprised even his closest friends. He did the same in larger degree as Governor of New York. He entered upon his duties as Chief Executive of the nation in a city which he had rarely, if ever, visited, and in an environment entirely unfamiliar to him. Painstaking and thor-

ough as he was, he studied the new situation much as he studied a case at law, and with the same dogged determination to get at its salient points and learn its good and its bad side and ultimately to do justice. He was honest, blunt, patriotic, and along with these qualities went a simplicity of mind and a kindness of heart which attached to him multitudes of the people and made many lasting friendships.

II

My close acquaintance with Mr. Cleveland began in the latter part of his second administration. I had daily the opportunity to study the man and his methods, to learn from his lips, in the quiet though busy hours when the general official routine was put aside and he devoted himself to those tasks which he regarded as peculiarly the subject of his personal attention, the policies and the principles which were his guide.

I recall no instance in which he visited any of the departments in Washington during the time to which I refer, if indeed he ever visited any of them, and yet it was an occasion of frequent comment that few men in his place had so intimate a knowledge of the conduct of government affairs, and no one surpassed him in his precise information as to the character and qualifications of officials throughout the service. His relations with the members of the Cabinet were cordial. It is true that he sometimes took out of their hands the doing of things which might properly have rested in their discretion, but he left largely to them the conduct of their departments, holding them responsible for the results attained.

III

His methods of work were characteristic of the man, and, while they at times threw upon him a burden that

might have been lightened, they nevertheless gave him an intimate knowledge of subjects and stamped policies and causes with his own individuality. He worked late at night, seeming to find its quiet, with its freedom from interruptions, a great help in his study of public questions and the individual cases that came before him. Twelve, one, and two o'clock would often find him at his desk, and I have known of many instances when, engaged on some especially pressing case, he would work even longer.

Contrary to the impression some have, he never dictated any of his correspondence or public addresses but always made the first draft in his own hand. During my stay in the White House as his executive clerk there was but one instance in which he dictated anything, and that was the beginning of a very brief note to the warden of a penitentiary where he had become interested in the case of a convict who had applied for pardon. He dictated a few sentences of the letter, and then, turning to the stenographer, said: "Oh, you know what I want to find out; fix it up and bring it in to me." When he received the draft of the letter, he made a change of a word or two better to express his meaning; and the letter was then despatched to its destination.

It may be interesting to add that the reply received from the warden was not only so unsatisfactory, but, perhaps through carelessness, so discourteous in tone, that it drew from Mr. Cleveland a sharp reprimand written entirely in his own hand. The original papers, with the first draft of the letter, are, I presume, now in the files of the Department of Justice. The instance furnishes an interesting side-light on Mr. Cleveland's character.

IV

It would be out of place for one holding the relations I held to him to make any extended comment at this time upon the life of the White House that lay apart from its public and official side; but in saying that his home life was beautiful, that he was tender and devoted in all its relations, and that he had the deep and affectionate regard of those who worked with him in the Executive Mansion, is but to state a fact well known to all who came in close contact with him.

With those whom he trusted and who understood him he was the most genial of companions and the stanchest of friends. He recognized in full the dignity of his office and required of others and of himself the observance of its obligations, but he abhorred needless display and empty ceremonial. He sought to accomplish his ends by straightforward methods, and once having made up his mind as to his duty, he was unflinching in his discharge of it.

No more conscientious and patriotic man ever filled the Presidency, and the wide recognition of his character and achievements, at the time of his death, by friend and foe alike, was but an expression of the esteem and affection in which he was always held by those who knew him best—a memory which they will cherish of a strong, brave, well-poised American, at all times ready to sacrifice personal considerations to the public welfare, rock-bound in his faith in the people, willing to abide the verdict of history as to the integrity of his purposes and the wisdom of his acts.

APPENDIX I

CHRONOLOGY

First of name in this country, Moses Cleaveland, settled in the colony of Massachusetts, 1635.

Rev. Richard Falley Cleveland, born in Norwich, Connecticut, June 19, 1805, married Anne Neal (born in Baltimore, Maryland, February, 1804) in 1829, and settled in Caldwell, New Jersey, December, 1834.

Grover Cleveland, born in Caldwell, New Jersey, March 18, 1837.

Family removed to Fayetteville, New York, 1841; to Clinton, New York, in 1851; and in 1853 to Holland Patent, New York, where the father died, October 1, 1853.

Clerk in grocery-store, Fayetteville, New York, 1851.

Teacher in the Institution for the Blind, Ninth Avenue and Thirty-fourth Street, New York City, 1853–54.

Removed to Buffalo, New York, 1854.

Assisted in compilation of the "American Shorthorn Herd Book," 1855 to 1861.

Admitted to the bar, May, 1859.

Appointed Assistant District Attorney, January 1, 1863.

Elected Sheriff of Erie County, New York, November, 1870.

Formed law firm of Bass, Cleveland & Bissell, January 1, 1874.

Elected Mayor of Buffalo, November, 1881. Took office January 1, 1882.

Nominated for Governor of New York, September 22, 1882.

Elected Governor by over 192,000 majority, November 1, 1882.

Governor of New York from January 1, 1883, to January 1, 1885.

Nominated for President by the National Democratic Convention, which met in Chicago, July 11, 1884.

Elected President, November 4, 1884.

First inauguration as President, March 4, 1885.

Married in the White House to Miss Frances Folsom, June 2, 1886.

Address at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Harvard University, November 9, 1886.

Started on three weeks' tour of the West and South, September 30, 1887.

Renominated for President in St. Louis, June 6, 1888.

Defeated at the Presidential election, November, 1888.

Resumed law practice in New York City, March, 1889.

Address before the Merchants' Association of Boston, December 12, 1889.

First address on Washington at the Michigan State University, February 22, 1892.

Nominated for President, third time, in Chicago, June 23, 1892.

Reëlected President, November 8, 1892.

Inaugurated as President, second time, March 4, 1893.

Opened the Columbia Exposition, Chicago, May 3, 1893.

Chicago rioters proclaimed, July 8, 1894.

Venezuelan message sent to Congress, December 17, 1895.

Removed to Princeton, New Jersey, on his sixtieth birthday, March 18, 1897.

Degree of Doctor of Laws conferred by Princeton University, June 16, 1897.

First lecture on the Stafford Little Foundation in Princeton University, April 9 and 10, 1900.

Entered Board of Trustees, Princeton University, 1901.

Degree of Doctor of Jurisprudence conferred by St. Thomas of Villa Nova College, June 17, 1902.

Became Chairman of the Equitable Board of Trustees, June 10, 1905.

Elected President of the Association of Life Insurance Presidents, January 31, 1907.

Second address on Washington before the Union League Club, Chicago, February 22, 1907.

Died at his home in Princeton, New Jersey, June 24, 1908.

Buried in Princeton Cemetery, June 26, 1908.

APPENDIX II

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[1] This list makes no claim to completeness. It includes, however, a few books or articles to which an inquiring reader may turn for further information.

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